

KEMAL PASHA



M. B. L. BHARGAVA

REBELS OR REDEEMERS?

I

KEMAL PASHA

BY

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Lucknow:

**THE UPPER INDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD.,
LITERATURE PALACE.**

1932.

Price, Rs. 1/8.

Printed by Pandit Bishambher Nath Bhargava, at the Standard
Press, Aliahabad.

Publishers' Note.

At a time when India is passing through a political convulsion unparalleled in the modern age, a study of the lives of great nation-builders in other lands has a value all its own. The publishers are issuing this volume as the first of a series of biographies of some of those great men of the world who, in their earlier careers, were condemned as rebels or traitors and afterwards acclaimed as redeemers of the nations to which they belonged. Some of these great men are still living and making history. This explains the name of the series.

In this small volume we present the life of **Kemal Pasha** of Turkey who has, during his own life time, raised his country from a weak, subservient and unorganised mass of humanity to a first class European power. Similar volumes on Lenin, Mussolini, Gandhi and others are in preparation and will follow.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I—	
Birth, Parentage and Childhood	... 1
CHAPTER II—	
Turkey as Kemal found her ...	... 6
CHAPTER III—	
<i>Kemal becomes a Pasha</i> ...	... 13
CHAPTER IV—	
Kemal repudiates Sultan's Government ...	... 21
CHAPTER V—	
First attempt at establishing a parallel Government at Angora... ...	... 31
CHAPTER VI—	
Treaties of Sevres and Laussaine ...	... 38
*CHAPTER VII—	
Beginnings of Constructive Work ...	... 54
CHAPTER IX—	
Domestic Affairs ...	... 59
CHAPTER X—	
Political and Economic Reforms ...	... 68
CHAPTER XI—	
Secularisation of State ...	... 76
CHAPTER XII—	
Other Reforms ...	... 83
CHAPTER XIII—	
The Kurdish Revolt ...	... 95
CHAPTER XIV—	
Turkey To-day ...	... 97
Appendix ...	... i-xiv

*By an unfortunate oversight the numbering of chapters has been wrong. Chapter VIII should have been. Chapters VII, IX should have been VIII and so on.

KEMAL PASHA.

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CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD.

Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Bey Pasha, to give the maker of modern Turkey his full name, is and will, for all time to come, be regarded as one of those great men who have changed the destinies of nations and have made history. "He is a unique man who is law unto himself, the great General, the saviour of his country, the statesman, the law-giver, the founder of the new dispensation, the man who has raised Turkey from the depths and enabled her to speak as equal to equals in the counsels of Europe". Mr. J. A. Spender's above description of the subject of this sketch is, by no means, an exaggerated statement.

Historians have compared this Turkish dictator with Mussolini, with Sunyet Sen, with Lenin, with Richelieu and even with Bismark, Napoleon and Gandhi. But as two men are seldom alike, comparisons can only mislead the man in the street. Kemal while combining in him some characteristics of each of these great men is yet very different from them. He possesses the energy and the impatience for reform of Mussolini. Like him he can quickly understand the men and things around him. But, unlike him, he has the habit of going to his business straight, avoiding devious policies. He hates limelight as

much as Mussolini loves it. If he is once convinced of the utility of a measure in the accomplishment of the object he has in view, he would, with the courage of Sunyet Sen, flout the whole world and devote all his energy, time and brain to carry it through. He has in him the sense of responsibility of an Ito, the determination of a Lenin and the gift of organisation of a Staline. With the foresight and acumen of Bismark, he can use the new ideas of nationalism in the building up of the political and social edifice of his country. He is a diplomat in the sense that he does the right thing at the right hour but his diplomacy, unlike that of Richelieu and Mussolini is far from covert policy. Like Napoleon, he could rightly declare about his birth " I was born when our country was perishing, the cries of the dying, the grievances of the oppressed, the tears of despair, were round the cradle of my birth ". But while Napoleon cherished the ambition of subduing the whole of Europe, Kemal is concentrating his whole energy to the rejuvenation of his own country. Napoleon rose like a meteor and vanished like one. His deeds, however, resulted in surrounding France with great and growing nations which became her rivals and deprived her of the ascendancy she possessed. Kemal, on the other hand, bids fair to leave Turkey consolidated, strong, disciplined and able to hold her own against the modern nations of the world. Like Gandhi, Kemal is a persistent enemy of what he considers to be an evil but

unlike him he is seldom original in his remedies. Like Gandhi again, he is not afraid of undertaking seemingly impossible tasks and accomplish them to successful results. He is unequalled in profiting by the experiences, ideas and achievements of his compatriots as well as his forerunners. No doubt there are people both in Turkey and outside it who look askance at his activities, who shake their heads at his policy of westernizing his motherland socially as well as politically, but their number is insignificantly small and is daily dwindling. The world at large regards him as one of the greatest statesmen and reformers of the present century.

Mustafa Kemal was born in the Turkish civil year, 1296, corresponding to the Christian year, 1880, at the small garrison town of Salonika, about three years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin under which the Ottoman Empire had all but lost the provinces of Rumania, Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro and the geographical expression "Turkey in Europe" was more a name than a fact. It was a critical period in the history of Turkey when reaction against the despotic rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid had begun raising its head. Kemal's parents were neither great nor rich from the worldly point of view. His father Ali Riza, a Rumili Turk, eked out his living as a small official in the Customs Department at Salonika for a long time and had only a short time before his death resigned that office to take up trade in timber,

whereby he hoped to improve his monetary prospects. Alas ! death prevented him from realising his ambitions. He left behind him his widow, Mustafa and a little girl. Mustafa adored his mother Zubeida, with a devotion and love of which only an Eastern is capable. The mother took the children to an uncle of theirs, who lived in the country, for their education. Zubeida dreamed of making her son a learned doctor of Muslim Theology and Law and with that object in view desired to send him to a mosque school. But at the place of his uncle Mustafa only wasted a year or two by playing a truant. He, however, cultivated here his taste of agriculture which now beguiles the leisure hours of the President of the Turkish Republic. The mother and the boy returned to their native town, the former impressing upon him the necessity of winning his own education. Kemal entered a secondary school in the neighbouring city of Monastir and endowed with an abundance of natural intelligence as he was, he soon earned a scholarship there. Destined to make history himself, he took special interest in the course of history which was recently introduced in that school from Europe. It was at this school that a Hoja, an old fashioned teacher of Arabic and Koran once flogged him because he had quarrelled with another boy. This corporal punishment he regarded as nothing short of indignity to himself. The spirit of revolt against everything old which has been the one characteristic of his life can be traced to this small

incident. He left the school and decided to become a soldier and notwithstanding his mother's wishes to the contrary and the fact that he had not attained the regulation age, he ran away from Monastir and got himself admitted in the Staff School in Salonika. Here he found himself in his own element. By his exemplary conduct and hard work he won the affection of his teachers. It was here that the career name of Kemal by which he is known to-day was bestowed on him by his mathematics teacher whose name was also Mustafa. Some of the friends he made here became his companions at arms, in after life. The general talk in the school about the cruelties of Sultan Abdul Hamid and his ministers awakened in him the desire of introducing reforms in the administration of his country and while his comrades after the school hours of duty scattered to seek distraction in gaming or pursuit of women or slept in their rooms this lad used to read till late hours every night and devour the contents of such books as lives of Voltaire and Rousseau or the Republic of Plato or what interested him most, the History of the French Revolution and its far reaching effects not only on the people of France but on the whole of Europe. Here he used to dream of a day when he would liberate his people from not only the inhuman tyrannies of the rulers, but from the fetters of domination which some of the European powers had obtained over Turkey. How far he has succeeded in the realisation of his youthful dreams, the following pages will show.

CHAPTER II.

TURKEY AS KEMAL FOUND HER.

In order to give the reader an idea of the achievements of Mustafa Kemal in the rejuvenation of his country, it is essential to portray, however briefly, the conditions of the Ottoman Empire as it was when he emerged, and to indicate the main events which were responsible for those conditions.

"We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man.....He may suddenly die on our hands." These words, which happily proved unprophetic, were uttered by Czar Nicholas I in 1855 with reference to the Turk. (By the way it is a strange irony that Czardom has since disappeared lock, stock and barrel and the diseased Turk is not only living but kicking as well.) In the last quarter of the 19th century Turkey still corresponded to the above description. It is regarded as a miracle indeed that it survived the Russo-Turkish War of 1876, the Balkan Wars of 1912 and lastly the Great European War of 1914-18. How this miracle happened will be obvious when we, in the following chapters, unfold the life story of the one man who is mainly, if not wholly, responsible for it.

During the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, the Turks were, to use the graphic words of Rosita Forbes in her book 'Conflict-Angora to Afghanistan' "guests in their own country". The industries and

finances of the country were controlled by foreigners such as Armenians, Jews and Greeks who, assisted by Western European powers, exploited the people to an extent inconceivable in any other country (except India). These foreigners "built Zig Zag railways across the plains thus increasing the kelometrage which was the measure of their payment and delivered guns that would not fire ; machinery that would not work and a consignment of Army boots with soles made of cardboards."

Although the geographical frontiers of the Empire extended from the borders of Austria to the Persian Gulf, this was no advantage to her. As a matter of fact the large area was a source of weakness rather than strength. Non-Turkish subjects outnumbered the Turks and the system of capitulations made the government almost powerless in their case.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1876 had left Turkey a pauper. The financial plight had, indeed, become so desperate that the salaries of Civil and Military establishments were getting several months in arrears. The already impoverished population was being bled white by ever-increasing taxation ; private and even wakf properties were confiscated at the will of the needy government. What is worse, the Ottoman Government had no means to improve the position except through the assistance of foreign governments and financiers who, in return, obtained special privileges for

themselves at the future expense of Turkey's national interests.

In the political sphere Sultan Abdul Hamid had already thrown to the winds the provisions of the 1876 Constitution by which Midhat Pasha and other reformers had sought to curb, at any rate to minimise, the evils of the despotic Government of the Sultanate. During his reign the Empire had already lost several of its European provinces and, as if to compensate for this territorial loss, he was trying to put new life into the institution of Caliphate in order to draw the Faithful to his side within as well as outside his temporal domains. Yeldiz had become the centre and stronghold of a great Pan-Islamic movement. The Sultan by the despotic character of his rule had alienated the sympathies of the nationalist progressive section of his subjects. When he appointed one Tunisian of the name of Khair-ud-din as his prime minister (grand vizier) thus asserting his right as Caliph to choose his highest officials from outside Turkey and his determination to flout the wishes of even those who stood by him, his supporters began to fall in number. The estrangement grew with the lapse of time and found expression in many ways. There were actual revolts though confined to small localities and small groups of persons. The Sultan became afraid of his own life. He employed an army of secret agents in order to watch the activities of his principal opponents. He took the precaution of

banishing or even destroying any one whom his spies led him to suspect of disloyalty. Thus no Turkish life was safe. Events moved in a vicious circle. A party of young Turks came into existence and took active steps for the overthrow of this regime by means of an armed revolution. This party established its headquarters at Paris from where it pulled the wires. The matters came to a head in 1908 when the revolution took place with the result that Abdul Hamid was deposed and Muhammd Rashid Effendi was nominated as his successor.

During this period the young Kemal whether in the Military School at Monastir or in the War College at Constantinople was fitting himself for the liberation of his country. Possessed of boundless vitality, strength of will and the ambition of breaking the fetters of slavery of the worst description he did not let the grass grow under his feet. With the ultimate aim of raising his motherland to the status of other independent and civilised nations he proceeded in his mission cautiously and yet boldly, slowly and yet at breakneck speed. He had already learnt to make speeches while he was in school. In 1903, he started a newspaper which he himself edited and in which, day in and day out, he protested against the evils then rampant in the body politic of his country. On January 11th, 1905, the day of his graduation as a captain he was arrested by the spies of the Sultan for his 'dangerous' activities and taken to the Yeldiz

Palace where he was kept in custody for several weeks, subjected to many indignities and was in turn cajoled and threatened by the Sultan himself. But as he was made of a stern stuff, neither soft words nor threats could change his determination. The result was that he was gazetted to Cavalry Regiment at Damascus which meant a modified form of exile.

Damascus, one of the most ancient cities of the world noted as much for its steel and fruits as for the daring character of its inhabitants, gave Mustafa an opportunity to study the conditions, political, economic and social, of the rural population which, as everywhere else, forms the backbone of his country. Although a man given to European ways of living, habituated to faultless Parisian style of dressing himself, Kemal did not hesitate in mixing with the poorest of the poor on their own level. He would visit coffee houses in the rural areas, have heart to heart talks with peasants, traders and artisans and sympathise with them in their poverty and consequent troubles and thus form friendships with them. In course of time he gathered round him a small group of young men who expressed their willingness to act to his bidding. He organised them into a secret political society which he named "Watan" (Fatherland) and which had, as its principal object, the creation of disaffection towards the then state of affairs and towards those who were

responsible for it. Within a few months the Society established branches at Beirut, Jaffa and Jerusalem. The secret spies of the government carried this news to Constantinople. The result was another banishment, this time to Jaffa, a small seaport of the Jews. As Jews were looked down upon in those days in every country, Kemal did not like to live among them. He made several attempts to escape from the place. He was successful. Through the kind offices of the local Commander whose confidence he had gained and who did not like the way he was being treated, Kemal was by his friends spirited away to his native town of Salonika where he lived in concealment for about a year. At Salonika he was not inactive. From here he introduced his revolutionary Society in the neighbouring European provinces. This Society was later absorbed by Enwer Pasha's Union and Progress Society known as the "Young Turks." Thus the actual founder of this Society of "Young Turks" which later played such an important part in the political emancipation of Turkey was Kemal himself. While Kemal was thus engaged in Salonika in bringing into contempt the ruler of Turkey and his government, the Sultan as an afterthought realised that banishment was too mild a punishment for a rebel like Kemal and sent orders for his immediate arrest, both to Damascus and Jaffa. The Military Commander at the latter place who secretly sympathised with the activities of Kemal, and with whose

connivance Kemal was working incognito at Salonika, again protected him by reporting that he was sent out to Egypt with an expeditionary force to subdue a local rising. Kemal was forgotten by the Sultan and remained in Salonika until his friends prevailed on the Sultan and got him re-instated in rank and 'transferred' to the General Staff in Salonika.

Here he lived with his mother and sister in his paternal house. But his secret revolutionary activities did not cease; he plotted with his brother officers. It is related that one day his mother overheard his conversation with a fellow conspirator and was alarmed. When he was alone she begged him to desist from plots against his sovereign whom she regarded as uniting in his person the virtues of seven Saints. The only reply Kemal gave her was that he was in honour bound with others and that it was too late for him to retrace his steps. The mother admitted the obligation and advised him to see that success was sure. This incident led Kemal to decide that in order to be successful in his mission he must remain at some distance from his mother and sister, uncles and aunts. It is this incident again that is responsible for his living a bachelor life until he had attained a position when feminine influence could not stand in his way. He separated from his mother and invited her to live with him at his official residence at Tchan Kaya only when he was full fledged President of the Turkish Republic.

In 1908, Kemal was appointed Chief of the Staff of the Macedonian Army by General Muhammad Chevat. For a time now he appeared to have given up his politics and devoted his whole time and talents in studying the needs of his soldiers and to make them efficient, disciplined and organised. He carefully avoided doing anything which could smell of his former revolutionary activities, his one object for the time being was to keep his officers in good humour and he succeeded in his efforts. He won their favour and his own promotion and was entrusted with greater and greater authority in the military sphere. But he had not forgotten for a moment his ultimate objective. He was only watching for an opportunity.

CHAPTER III.

KEMAL BECOMES A PASHA.

1909-1918.

Soon after the *Coupd' Etat* of 1908, the Midhat's Constitution of 1876 was revived and the party of "Young Turks" became the *defacto* government. But the new government, in spite of its best intentions did not succeed in its attempts to maintain the constitution for any long time. The policy it followed was not compatible with the ideas of nationality then prevalent in Europe and gaining ground throughout the East. The Young Turks were more anxious to Turkify the government than to establish liberties

for all the communities residing in the Empire, irrespective of their being non-Turkish in nationality and non-Muslim in religion. "By making the Turkish language official, by standardising Education, by using violence and bribery to influence elections, by forbidding public meetings, by repressing anti-Ottoman agitation, by practically excluding Christians from Civil Offices, by disarming the Macedonian villagers, by these and other numberless tokens, the Young Turks signified their intention to weld all races into a Turkish nation and Ottomanise the Turkish Empire."* Such a policy of social and religious discrimination was bound to create resentment among the non-Turkish and non-Muslim communities in Turkey who, in their turn, took active steps to promote their separate aims and invited the assistance of their foreign neighbours in the materialisation of their aims. The result was that Austria-Hungary annexed the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina which she had already been occupying under an international mandate since 1878. Bulgaria repudiated Ottoman Sovereignty. Italy captured the provinces of Tripoli and Banghazi in North Africa and the Balkan States conquered all the European provinces which remained to the Empire west of the river Maratiza. The two Balkan Wars of 1911-12 and 1913 left Turkey still poorer in her territorial possession. In Africa she now owned no territory. In

* Hayes-A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Volume II.

Europe all was lost except Constantinople and Adrianople. In Asia, however, she still claimed the provinces of Asia Minor, Armenia, Kurdistan, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. In a way these losses in Europe proved to Turkey a blessing in disguise, as Balkans being only a liability to her—a white elephant so to say—the Turks were now able to concentrate their energies on a much controllable area and harmonious people. They began to think on national lines now and diverted their attempts more successfully to build a Turkey than they could in maintaining an heterogeneous Empire.

The Turks had hardly begun the nationalising work when the World War of 1914-18 broke out in which Russia and Great Britain were pitched against Germany. Although Russia had solemnly promised to guarantee Turkey's neutrality yet the Turks felt doubtful all along of her intentions in case of her victory. The attitude of the British Government and the British people during the Turkish Revolution of 1908 and the Balkan Wars was hardly hope-inspiring. Turkey again was groaning under the heavy load of the capitulations and was in the lookout of an opportunity of ridding herself of them. She tried her best to come to an understanding with the Allies with regard to a modification of the financial side of the capitulations but while not making any promise on this point, the Allies demanded the dismissal of German experts and Commanders. Her

participation in the war against the Allies became inevitable and on September 8th, 1914, she declared the capitulations abolished and at once Russia declared war on Turkey. England and France soon followed suit.

As was expected Turkey was defeated in the long run. She had to fight not only against the forces of the Allies on different points, but against her own subjects, the Arabs; the entire non-Turkish population, Christian and Muslim, organised itself against her and stabbed her constantly on the back. In 1917, Russia retired from the war and a treaty of Peace was signed between her and Turkey. Turkey had joined the war chiefly for her fear of Russia and now that Russia was no longer at war with her, she asked for peace and on October 30th, 1918, the Armistice between Turkey and Allies was signed at Mudros. As a result, Turkey lost her Arabian provinces and her Sovereignty over Egypt. The Committee of Union and Progress stood thoroughly discredited by this time and the Turkish people were in such despair that they were prepared to resign themselves even to some form of foreign tutelage.

During all this time Kemal was not inactive. He had lost the confidence of the party in power because he openly and publicly expressed his disapproval of its policy and actions. For a time he gave up politics and busied himself in the rehabilitating of the army. In 1900, he was sent to Picardy in France to acquaint

himself with the French system of military administration. His stay at that place opened his eyes. He did not confine himself to the study of the French Army alone but as a practical man of affairs gained considerable knowledge of the political, economic, moral and social conditions prevalent in the country at the time. The spirit of liberty prevailing in every stratum of society and in every walk of life made a deep impression on him. The socially free woman of France was a great lesson to him. He wondered at the mills and factories which were busy in producing wealth and at the way merchant princes carried on the commerce of the country thus adding materially to her wealth. He saw graduates at universities busy making new discoveries and inventions every day to help the growing prosperity of their country. The spirit of enterprise, of adventure, of devotion to the cause of the country fired his imagination. He was, in fact, so much impressed with the superiority of the western civilisation that he made up his mind then and there to westernise, on his return, his own country which was then hopelessly oriental. During the Turko-Italian and the Balkan wars Kemal's part was not very important as he was then only a Colonel in the army and had no power of initiative. Even then he, with Anwar and Fateh Bey, did his best to check the onslaught of Italy in Tripoli although he was not successful. On learning the news of the outbreak of the Balkan wars he organised his

small army and proceeded to the spot, but to his chagrin he was too late. When the European War broke out, Kemal was opposed to Turkey's participation in it. He proceeded to Constantinople to warn the government that Turkey's participation would spell disaster to her. He predicted that Germany was doomed to be defeated in the long run. But his advice fell on deaf ears and Turkey plunged in the war in right earnest. Kemal was, for sometime, ignored by the government and had to be content with an under-officer's commission. But the events soon took a serious turn. The war lasted longer than the pro-participation party had fondly believed, the government could not afford to dispense with the services of a single soldier. Kemal's services were requisitioned. He organised his soldiery who placed more confidence in him than in any other officer. As Kemal was well versed in European system of warfare the German officers in command of Turkish armies needed his help all the more. The following long quotation from "Eminent Asians" by Josef Washington Hall (Upton Close) is so interesting that an apology is hardly needed to reproduce it below.

"It is August, 1915. Liman Pasha (General Liman von Sanders) is at the end of his rope. He summons Kemal to staff headquarters. 'We are in a vise. I can do no more with your damned Turks,' he says. The young Turkish officer springs up, his blue eyes flashing, his usually mask-like face setting in determination.

'Let me act here. I can do much more with them. Give me the command.'

Von Sanders and his fellow German shrugged their shoulders. They knew the men have ears only for Kemal's voice. Without gazette, Kemal takes the fate of his country and the lives of 1,60,000 soldiers into his decisive hands.

His fellow officers are at first doubtful about his authority. But when, leading in person at Adana, he is struck down by a fragment of shell, rises again and calmly draws a shattered watch from over his heart, is acclaimed as the chosen of Allah to lead the faithful. The Turks fear to follow one whose luck is evil, but they will go anywhere behind the Allah-protected."

Kemal by his bold stand not only disappointed the Allies in their ambition of a speedy victory over Turkey, but forced the British to evacuate Gallipoli. On the Caucasus front he reclaimed Bitlis Mush from the Russians. In appreciation of these successful attempts Kemal was rewarded with the rank of Pasha in the Turkish Army.

Although the Turkish government and their German advisers took advantage of Kemal's services in the war, they had not forgotten that he was opposed to Turko-German alliance in the war. Besides, he was getting more and more popular with the soldiers. The German officers and the Turkish

government feared that he might, one day, use his popularity against them. They sent him to Asia Minor as an Inspector of Troops. While he was in the Hejaz, differences between him and Anwar with regard to an attack on Baghdad became so acute that he tendered his resignation and submitted a detailed report to the government about the situation then prevailing. In this report he foretold the victory of the Allies with the precision and accuracy of a prophet. His reputation as a military officer was recognised both by German High Command and the Turkish Government inspite of his unpopularity in both the quarters when he checked the British Forces at Anafarta in the Dardanelles.

In 1918, the Sultan died and was succeeded by Vahid-ud-din Effendi under whose orders Kemal assumed the leadership of the Seventh Army in Palestine. The masterly manner in which he conducted the retreat after General Allenby's victory is a matter of history. He was, later, Commander-in-Chief of Yilderim group in the assault on Baghdad. Anwar Pasha fled into Soviet Russia and died there.

If he was a constant opponent of German influence in his home affairs, Kemal was no less against servile surrender to Allies' terms, and it was due to his strong attitude that under the Armistice of Mudros, Turkey secured terms less severe than those which were later imposed on other defeated countries. Under those terms the Allies were to control the Railways and ot

hold Baku and Batum. They occupied Constantinople and reserved to themselves the right of occupying Thrace, the six Armenian vilayets of Asia Minor and "any strategic position necessary to protect the security of the Allies". The internal affairs of Turkey in Asia were left to the Turks themselves.

CHAPTER IV.

KEMAL REPUDIATES SULTAN'S GOVERNMENT.

1918—1920.

The war over, the Armistice signed, it was apprehended, even expected in many quarters, that Russia now being *Hors de combat* the other Allies viz., England, France and Italy would swallow the whole of Turkey as spoils of war between themselves. But the emphatic declaration of Lloyd George a few months earlier "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race" and later President Wilson's famous fourteen points and the general weariness among the Allies had the effect of postponing for sometime the apprehended disaster. For a time, at least, the Turks were left alone in the lands where they were in an undisputed majority, but the behaviour of the Allied Army was anything but satisfactory. Here is Madam Halide Edib's picture of Turkey just after the war.

"With the entry of Allied Armies the insolence of the Greeks and the Armenians and the treatment of the peaceful Turkish citizens in the streets became scandalous. The Senegalese soldiers especially had become so uncontrollable that there were rumours that they bit the Turkish women in public and roasted Turkish babies for their evening meals. Large numbers of Turks were continually arrested on some pretext, fined and sometimes badly beaten at the Allied headquarters. The requisition of the houses, the throwing out of the inhabitants without allowing them to take their personal belongings, these were the mildest forms of bad treatment. The Greek and Armenian interpreters and assistants of the Allied police, the English particularly, greatly influenced and colored the behaviour of these men toward the Turks. Apart from the unjust as well as unwise policy of the Allies towards Turkey, their armies of occupation in the first months saw the Turks with the eyes of the Greeks and Armenians and perhaps this was what hurt the man in the street at the time. One often saw Turkish women roughly pushed out of the tram cars and heard Turkish children called 'Bloody cusses.' The tearing of the fezzes or the tearing of the veils of women were common sights, and all these things were borne with admirable dignity and silence by the townspeople. Let it be added that the Turk forgets and forgives wrongs and even massacres but he rarely forgets an insult to his self-respect."

To quote again from the same writer :—

"Turkey had never appeared to be such an easy prey to partition and extermination. The Sultan was ready to take part with any strong power to turn against his own people and the power he most favoured seemed to be England. Evidently he was dreaming of a British protectorate similar to the one in Egypt. There had been cruel and corrupt Sultans in Turkey, there had been imbeciles and drunkards in its history but never had a son of Osman fallen so low as to manœuvre for the subjugation of Turkey so that he might live comfortably. The *Entente Libérale*, the opponents of the 'Union and Progress' who surrounded the Sultan seemed also intent on the same idea. Absolute monarchy under a British protectorate they meant to have and in order that this should be realised both they and the Sultan were meditating the closure of the parliament. I want to add that not all those who thought that parliamentarism was too advanced a form of Government for Turkey were at the same time in favour of a foreign protectorate. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was said to be one of those trying to persuade the Sultan to close the parliament, but he wished him to inaugurate afterwards a regime of absolutism with a cabinet in which Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself would be the minister of war "

Turkey was thus in a more or less demoralised state. The Greeks had already been on the look-out of an opportunity to occupy Smyrna which was

secretly promised to them by the Allies during the war. The Allies now helped Greece in the realisation of this ambition and justified their protection to her by the seventh Article of the Peace Treaty, "The Allies have the right to occupy any strategic point in the event of any strategic situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies," On May 15th, 1919, the Greeks landed. Professor Toynbee says : "On 15th May, 1919, a destructive force was let loose in Western Anatolia as sudden and apparently incomprehensible in its action as the eruption of a volcano. One morning, six months after the close of the European war Arabians and disarmed soldiers (Turkish) were massacred in the streets of Smyrna, whole quarters and villages were plundered; then the rich valleys in the hinterland were devastated by further arson and bloodshed and a military fervent came into existence." The Allies connived at these inhuman brutalities all the time but when the Turks thought of retaliation they were repressed. Madam Edib justly exclaims. "Nothing in modern history has done so much harm to the prestige of the Western Civilisation in the Eastern world as the landing of the Greeks in Smyrna."

The opponents of Kemal Pasha have accused him that in order to satisfy his ambition to act as an autocrat as minister of war, he persuaded the Sultan to close the parliament and to act as an absolute monarch even though under the protection of the

British. There is no doubt that the Sultan was constantly in consultation with Kemal on this subject and that the latter had given him the assurance that he could depend on the loyalty of the Army in case he wound up the parliamentary system and adopted an absolute monarchy. Kemal has explained the whole episode in the Articles, which he published as his Memoirs. He says, "Although this interview was a long one nothing fundamental was discussed.....I tried to inform him (the Sultan) on certain subjects the nature of which you will guess. But he (the Sultan) was obviously unwilling to talk of them and stopped me by saying 'The Commanders and Officers in the army love you, is there any feeling against me ?'"

"Although I have been back for some days in Istambol, I do not think there is any cause for them to be against your Majesty."

"I am not speaking only of the present; I want to know whether there will be any cause in the future."

Mustafa Kemal has left the word 'a-guessing' as to how he disposed of the last question of the Sultan, but he has confessed to his suspicion that the Sultan was contemplating some serious step which might result in estranging the army from him. The friends of Kemal have tried to explain the charge laid against him in various ways but it must be confessed that they

have not been able to convince the world, much less the Turkish Nationalists about his good intentious on this occasion. Ambition and love of power has always been a weak point in Kemal's character and it is possible that he gave this wrong, unnational and undemocratic advice to the Sultan in order to obtain for himself the office of the minister of war, an office which carried the highest influence after the premiership.

Kemal's activities at the time of the signing of the armistice were resented by the British Officers in Turkey. No wonder, therefore, the British High Commissioners asked the Sultan to get this "dangerous man" away and he was sent away to Anatolia to demobilise the army and to pacify the east. He was followed by Col. Refet (later Refet Pasha) Lieutenant Colonel M. Arif and Rauf Bey. These four officers met and conferred together at Amassia where on the 19th June, 1919, the Amassia protocol was signed. Here is Colonial Arif's version of the resolutions adopted by the party.

"The Central Government is entirely under foreign control. The Turkish nation is resolved to refuse foreign domination and this is proved by the various resolutions passed by numerous associations of defence all over the country. The activities of these groups must be unified. A representative Congress must be called at Sivas the date as well as the place must be kept secret till the opening."

Those Commanders sent from Istambol whose credentials are doubtful from the nationalist point of view must not be accepted.

These resolutions did not obviously mean the formation of a new government in Anatolia, they only meant organisation of the country for the purpose of national defence. But Colonel Refet was doubtful about the intentions of the other three. Soon after, another Congress was held at Erzerum with Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its president. In the meantime news had reached Constantinople about these revolutionary activities and just when the Erzerum Congress was in session orders were received for the arrest of Kemal Pasha and the closure of the Conference. But Kiazim Kara Bakir Pasha who had the warrant of arrest refused to carry out the orders. Kemal, however, soon resigned his office in the Sultan's army. At the instance of the British High Commissioner, the Central government instead of accepting the resignation outlawed and degraded the rebel. The Erzerum Congress finished its deliberations and decided to organise "the Anatolian and Rumalian League for the defence of National Rights" later known as "the National Organisation". It also decided to hold another, this time a more representative, Congress at Sivas in September next. When this news reached Constantinople the Allies gave out the threat, that unless the proposed Congress at Sivas was abandoned they would occupy Sivas in five days and almost

simultaneously sent their forces at Samsoun but they had to evacuate that place. The Sivas Conference took place on 4th September, 1919, and confirmed the resolution adopted at Erzerum. It further appointed an Executive Committee of which Kemal was appointed the president and Rauf Bey, Bakir Sami Bey and others as members.

The Committee started negotiations with the Central Government at once. It asked the government to use influence over the powers for the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks and to dismiss Damad Ferid lest he should make such terms with the Allies as might prove disastrous to Turkey. Kemal, in the meantime, busied himself in equipping his army with the weapons left in Turkey by German evacuation, in organising the old Union and Progress Party, and in training soldiers from the ruffian bands of Asia Minor. As no reply was received from the Central Government to the appeal of the Committee the latter refused to recognise the Constantinople Government and took reins into their own hands and chose the town of Angora as their head quarters because it was geographically and strategically more suited for their activities than any other place.

The break with the Istambol Government frightened the Sultan. On October 5th, 1919, the Damad Farid Cabinet in Constantinople fell. A general election was held resulting in the return of a considerable majority of the Nationalist party. The Prime

Minister, Ali Riza Bey, was himself openly sympathetic towards the party. A number of the leading members of the nationalist party in the Parliament soon met at Angora and accepted the programme prepared by Kemal on the basis of the Erzerum resolutions. This document became known as the National Pact. It was, in reality, a Declaration of Independence of the Turkish Nation. As this National Pact is the foundation on which the present Turkey has been built up a full text of it is reproduced below.

THE TURKISH NATIONAL PACT.

"The members of the Ottoman chamber of deputies recognise and affirm that the independence of the state and the future of the Nation can be assured by complete respect for the following principles, which represent the maximum of sacrifice which can be undertaken in order to achieve a just and lasting peace, and that the continued existence of a stable Ottoman Sultanate and society is impossible outside of the said principles.

ARTICLE I.—Inasmuch as it is necessary that the destinies of the portions of the Turkish Empire which are populated exclusively by an Arab majority, and which, on the conclusion of the Armistice of the 30th October, 1918, were in the occupation of enemy forces, should be determined in accordance with the votes which shall be freely given by the inhabitants, the whole of those parts, whether within or outside the said Armistice line, which are inhabited by an Ottoman Muslim majority united in religion, in race and in aim, imbued with sentiments of mutual respect for each other and of sacrifices, and wholly respectful of each other's racial and social rights and surrounding conditions form a whole which does not admit of division for any reason in truth or in ordinance.

ARTICLE II.—We accept that, in the case of the three Sanjaks which united themselves by a general vote to the

mother country when they first were free, recourse should again be had, if necessary, to a free popular vote.

ARTICLE III.—The determination of the juridical status of Western Thrace also, which has been made dependent on the Turkish peace must be effected in accordance with the votes which shall be given by the inhabitants in complete freedom.

ARTICLE IV.—The security of the city of Constantinople, which is the seat of the Caliphate of Islam, the capital of the Sultanate, and the headquarters of the Ottoman Government, and of the Sea of Marmora must be protected from every danger. Provided this principle is maintained, whatever decision may be arrived at jointly by us and all other Governments concerned, regarding the opening of the Bosphorus to the commerce and traffic of the world, is valid.

ARTICLE V.—The rights of minorities as defined in the treaties concluded between the Entente Powers and their enemies and certain of their associates shall be confirmed and assured by us—in reliance on the belief that the Muslim minorities in neighbouring countries also will have the benefit of the same rights.

ARTICLE VI.—It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development, in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration.

For this reason we are opposed to restrictions inimical to our development in political, financial, and other matters.

The conditions of settlement of our proved debts shall not be contrary to these principles."

Kemal Pasha tried to transfer the headquarters of the parliament to Angora because he felt that at that place, the government would have no chance, at any

rate much lesser chance than at Constantinople, of being influenced by European powers in their decisions. But the Allies, as was expected, took objection to the manner in which things were being done. They could recognise the new parliament and the new government only if they met at Constantinople and were presided over by the Sultan himself and carried on their work in a constitutional manner. After prolonged discussion and deliberations, the nationalist party decided to comply with the requirements of the Allies and the first sitting of the new parliament was held on 28th January, 1920 at Constantinople when the National Pact was presented to and formally and legally adopted by the Parliament.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST ATTEMPT AT ESTABLISHING A PARALLEL GOVERNMENT, AT ANGORA.

Damad Ferid Pasha, the ex-Prime Minister, played the part Jai Chand had played in the history of India. Anxious to be restored to his former position of power and influence he sought and easily secured the assistance of the Allies to annhilate the national party. General Milne, the British Commander at once marched into Constantinople, declared martial law, arrested as many leaders of the national party as he could lay his hands upon and dispatched them to Malta. The Constantinople government was reconstituted with Ferid Pasha as its head. Some of

the leaders of the Nationalist party however escaped arrest and somehow reached Angora. These leaders met at Angora and decided to form a government of their own. They addressed themselves earnestly to the task of organising public opinion against the Constantinople government and in favour of a new government to be conducted from Angora, established a newspaper of the name of " Hukimat-i-Mellie " under the joint editorship of the gifted lady Halide Edib and Yunus Nadi Bey. They discussed among themselves the form of the government which they were going to establish. There were acute differences between various leaders on this question. One proposal which found considerable support was that it should be constitutional monarchy without a monarch, with a legislative assembly, a cabinet, an executive and a regent under the name of the President of National Assembly. Mustafa Kemal, however, argued that such a form sounded like a republic and it might scare the people. It was, he stated, too old, having already been discredited in Europe. He advocated something original, efficient but loose, popular but still Asiatic in spirit. He himself drafted a form which was somewhat as follows :—

" The National Assembly would exercise all legislative and executive powers and it would select the members of the Cabinet. They would be selected on their individual merits and would be responsible individually to the Assembly alone. In this way

Cabinet ministers would have no responsibility to the Cabinet as a collective body. The Cabinet in fact would be only a set of officials who would carry out the decisions of the Assembly. It would be presided over by the President of the National Assembly who would have no personal responsibility. The ministers were to be called the Commissary of the people for Education, the Commissary of the people for National Defence, etc."

Naturally there were objections to this Sovietic form of government but as the country was passing through a critical time, the leaders did not desire to create a schism in their party. Madam Edib writes. "To me forms did not mean much. The man in gray made one feel the inevitable vitality and force of an extraordinary being. It was not what he said that would create the new state.....it was the desire of the man who worked with a strength and insistence which would have wearied any normal human being."

This form was eventually approved by the selected leaders and was now to be placed before the Assembly for final approval. The Assembly was to meet on 23rd April, 1920.

In the meantime an event occurred which throws some light on Kemal's character. A man Safaet Bey by name arrived at Angora with the news that the tribunal of Kurd Mustafa Pasha, a court established by Ferid Pasha's Government to judge the

rebels led by Kemal Pasha had condemned to death seven leaders including Kemal, Halide Edib and Dr. Adnan. The Sheikhul Islam by his *fatwa* had confirmed this decree. Mustafa was very much upset by this news. A proposal was mooted that the first act of the new Angora government should be to issue orders confirmed by *fatwas* from local *muftis* for the execution of those who had condemned them to death.

By the evening of the 22nd April, these leaders finally decided the form and the name of the New Assembly. Although various names were suggested, the one finally approved was "Buyuk Millet Mejlessi" (Great National Assembly). The Cabinet was to consist of eleven Commissaries each in charge of a separate department and Mustafa Kemal himself was to be the president.

On the 23rd April the Assembly met. Kemal delivered his speech which lasted four hours. By the manner in which he spoke Kemal proved that he was as great an orator as a soldier. He rejected the Anglo-Saxon and the American systems of government as they were simply mechanical and advocated government by consultation and deliberation with one man's final responsibility. "Our government is neither democratic nor socialistic. It does not resemble any other and represents the national will and national sovereignty. If one must say what it is from the social point of view we will say 'It is a government of the people';" so declared Kemal.

The Assembly declared its adherence to the National Pact and made preparations to defeat the intentions of the Allies. Its first act was to declare that as the Sultan and the Constantinople Government were mere puppets in the hands of the Allies to the great detriment of the nation, they had ceased to exist from 16th March, 1920 and that Kemal was taking over the rule of his people. On the 29th April he wrote to M. Millersand :—

“ I have the honour to inform Your Excellency of the desiderata of the Nation, as expressed and adopted at the sitting of the 29th April, 1920.

First, Constantinople, the seat of the Khilafet and Sultanate, together with the Constantinople Government, are henceforth looked upon by the Ottoman people as prisoners of the Allies. Thus all orders and *fatwas* issued from Constantinople, so long as it is occupied, cannot have any legal or religious value, and all engagements entered upon by the would-be Constantinople Government are looked upon by the nation as null and void.

Secondly, the Ottoman people, though maintaining its calm and composure, is bent upon defending its sacred, century-old rights as a free, independent State. It expresses the wish to conclude a fair, honourable peace but declares that only its own mandatories have the right to take engagements in its name and on its account.

Thirdly, the Christian Ottoman element, together with the foreign elements settled in Turkey, remain under the safeguard of the nation. Yet they are forbidden to undertake anything against the general security of the country."

The Sultan's government did not take all these developments lying down. They plotted to assassinate Kemal Pasha several times though without success. One such plot came to light during the trial of one, Mustafa Saghir in 1921. He was believed to be an English agent. He pretended to be a representative of the Indian Khilafat Conference. He offered his services to the Angora government for carrying messages from Angora to its Intelligence office in Constantinople. But the Angora government was too shrewd not to know him. His movements were watched and ultimately he was taken under arrest and tried. During the trial he confessed that he was a young Musalman from Benares who had been taken to England as a child. In return for education, he said, he had been required to swear upon the Koran, fealty to the English king and the Viceroy of India. When he graduated from Oxford he was sent to Cairo to spy on the Egyptian Nationalist movement. Soon his field of activity included Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan and India.

He told the amount of money the Sultan received from England each month. Mustafa Kemal, he said could have seven million dollars if he would take

instructions from the British. The Ghazi smiled remarking that he had not before realised how large was his "commercial value." He revealed the plot to assassinate Kemal which was sponsored by the Sultan, members of the Damad Ferid Government, and the English military men in Constantinople. He had been chosen to carry out the actual murder in Anatolia.

"Why were you chosen for this?" he was asked.

"Because of my success in an even more dangerous errand in Afghanistan," he replied, "when I assassinated the Emir." In return for complete confession he asked only that he might go to death without revelation of his real name—for the honor of an ancient Muslim family."

As events moved Kemal Pasha grew more and more disgusted at the so-called civilisation of the west which assumed superiority over the east.

When about the end of May, 1920, Madam Edib laid before Kemal Pasha a translation of the British statesman's speech on the big stick policy for the eastern countries, he flew into a violent rage and spoke out his indignation in the following words which the whole east is likely to appreciate.

"They shall know that we are as good as they are. They shall treat us as their equals. Never will we bow our heads to them. To our last man we will stand against them till we break civilisation on their heads!"

CHAPTER VI.

TREATIES OF SEVRES AND LAUSSAINE.

When the Greeks were busy in Asia Minor in their brutal campaign of arson, massacre and bloodshed and leaders of political Turkey were fighting their civil war, the Allies were chalking out a programme as to how to divide up Turkey amongst themselves. Conferences were held in London and at San Remo to discuss and decide the terms of the Peace Treaty between them and Turkey. The final draft was sent to Turkey to enquire if she had to say anything with regard to any article in the same. Her objections were, as prearranged, overruled and on 10th August, 1920, the Constantinople delegates signed the Treaty at Sevres.

The Arab State of Hedjas was declared nominally free but was really placed under British control. Armenia was declared a free Christian republic, under international guarantees. Palestine, Mesopotamia and the trans-Jordan territory and Syria were separated from Turkey and made mandatories. Cilesia was recognised as a French "sphere of influence" and Southern Anatolia including the port of Adalia as an Italian "sphere of influence;" Smyrna and the adjacent territory on the coast of Asia Minor, together with Thrace, Adrianople, the peninsula of Gallipoli and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos were handed over to Greece. The Dardanelles and the

Bosphorus were internationalised. All that was practically left to Turkey was the interior of Asia Minor and even here, subject to organised foreign control of the taxes, tariffs, currency and other economic questions.

Messrs. Arnold Toynbee and K. P. Kirkwood in their book *Turkey* characterise this Treaty as "one of the most striking examples of western imperialism". They proceed :—

" Even after a war ostensibly waged to end injustice and maintain the rights of small nations, even after a peace settlement resounding with the idealistic declarations of President Wilson preaching self-determination and the right of small nations to the realisation of national freedom and unity, even around the Council table of the leading statesmen of the world, the anxiety and complexity of peace making, the business of rewarding Allies or playing off nations in order to adjust a delicate balance of power turned the statesmen's head to the old channels of imperialism and territorial ambition, just as during the war they had yielded to the discredited practice of secret diplomacy. Thus at London, at San Remo and at Sevres the allied statesmen worked out a mutual scheme of partition that would not only mutilate the prostrate form of the 'sick man' but, by the occupation of the most important seaports, would tantamount to the amputation of the most

effective and active part of the dismembered country. It was a triumph of imperialism for it carved up the richest areas of western Asia for the gratification of the belligerent Allies who sought their reward in the hour of victory. Turkey was beaten and prostrate and therefore she could not protest. The Sultan was being supported by the Allies who virtually kept him confined in his own palace on the Bosphorus and therefore he could not and would not object."

The terms of this Treaty roused in the Turks feelings of resentment against the west such as had never arisen before. The Turks now heartily hated the west and its civilisation, its methods and everything connected with it. They not only wished to end such a civilisation but took active steps towards that consummation. They adopted another ideal which they called the "Eastern Ideal". Madam Halide Edib in her book "Turkey Faces West" describes this ideal as "an amorphous collection of ideas arising from a thwarted desire for a more congenial state of affairs." The Russian Revolution and consequent communistic theories based on Karl Marx' writings helped Turkey towards Communism. Kemal Pasha encouraged this growth of Communism not because he believed in the principles and theories of Karl Marx but because by adopting that attitude he could attract and retain the sympathies of Soviet Russia which alone among the powers was now friendly towards Turkey.



The British Embassy in Angora.

Mustafa Kemal loved power but evaded responsibility. This defect in his character gave rise to feelings of hostility towards him, sometimes, in the minds of his closest friends and co-workers and in its turn encouraged in him the habit of intriguing and unscrupulousness. It was natural that some of the responsible members of the Assembly grew suspicious about the wisdom of some of his acts and policies. Differences arose and became serious at times. When the Assembly took to task Jami Bey, Commissary for the Interior who always sided with Kemal, for certain unwise policy, he looked to Kemal for support who forsook him and he narrowly escaped a vote of no confidence.

Madam Edib who had more opportunities than any one else to study Kemal's character in private conversations says :—

" He was, by turns, cynical, suspicious, unscrupulous, and satanically shrewd. He bullied, he indulged in cheap street-corner heroics. Possessing considerable though quite undistinguished histrionic ability, one moment he could pass on as the perfect demagogue.—a second George Washington—and the next moment fall into some Napoleonic attitude. Sometimes he would appear wreck and an abject coward, sometimes exhibit strength and daring of the highest order. He would argue with all the intricacies of the old fashioned scholastic till he had become utterly incomprehensible, and then illumine some obscure

problem with a flash of inspired clarity. Having been hesitant to a degree that made one conclude that he must be one of the most impotent of men who could do nothing but talk, suddenly he would make some instantaneous decision which marked him as being master of his own life and the life-force of a far-reaching movement.

"Of course, one knew all the time that there were men around him who were greatly his superior in intellect and moral backbone, and far above him in culture and education. But though he excelled them in neither refinement nor originality, not one of them could possibly cope with his vitality. Whatever their qualities, they were made on a more or less normal scale. In terms of vitality, he wasn't. And it was this alone that made him the dominant figure. Take any man from the street who is shrewd, selfish, and utterly unscrupulous, give him the insistence and histrionics of a hysterical woman who is willing to employ any wile to satisfy her inexhaustible desires then view him through the largest magnifying glass you can find—and you 'll see Mustafa Kemal Pasha. It was perhaps just because he was a colossal personification of one part of every day human nature that he had a better chance of controlling the masses than a man might who possessed subtler and more balanced qualities or more profound wisdom. I can still see him standing in the middle of a room talking every one to exhaustion, while he remains as fresh as the

moment he began. And I can remember saying to myself : " What an astounding man. Is he just some elemental force in a catastrophic form ? Is there anything human about him at all ? And how can this cyclone ever come to rest when the nation has reached its goal ? "

The following conversation between Mustafa Kemal and Madam Halide Edib paints the former's character in its truest colour. On one occasion on a subject which is immaterial to be mentioned here Kemal addressed the lady :—

" What do you think, Hanum Efendi, am I not right ? "

" I don't clearly understand what you want to say, Pasham."

" Come to this chair near me and I will tell you."

" What I mean is this : I want every one to do as I wish and command."

" Have they not done so already in everything that is fundamental and for the good of the Turkish cause ? "

" I do'nt want any consideration, criticism, or advice. I will have only my own way. All shall do as I command."

" Me too, Pasham ? "

" You too."

"I will obey you and do as you wish as long as I believe that you are serving the cause."

" You shall obey me and do as I wish," he repeated.

" Is that a threat, Pasham ? "

" I am sorry I would not threaten you."

And although Kemal apologised at the time, he resented her arguments and as stated by the lady herself he "desired her death more fervently than that of any other living creature" since then.

To resume the thread of the story. The Sevres Treaty was never accepted by the Angora Government nor was it ever ratified by the Governments of the Allied Powers. At the time it was signed by the Sultan's government the Turks were carrying on one of the most fierce wars in their history, a war which required all that was best in Turkish soldiery and leadership for its ultimate victory. Kemal Pasha being the head of both the state and the army was equal to the occasion as a military genius, as a propagandist and as a diplomat. The Greko-Turkish War had begun with the occupation of Smyrna by the Greeks in May, 1919. The Turks now began to retaliate on the Greeks and military collisions became frequent. The Greeks raised a huge army—80,000 disciplined soldiers against less than half of Turkey's irregular, un-disciplined, ill-equipped men. But this lack of discipline was partially made up by the spirit of

patriotism, of sacrifice infused in the Turks by wisely conducted propaganda. As a matter of fact the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the Greeks on the civil population including women and children had left behind it feelings of furious irritation among the Turks who were now bent on freeing their land from the foreign yoke. The knowledge that the Allied nations were helping the Greeks in their diabolical actions and policies made the resentment still more bitter and the Turks regarded this war as a fight to the finish. For a time, the Greeks successfully advanced into the interior inflicting heavy losses on the Turkish army and capturing several places, Adrianople included. (25th July, 1920). But the Turks did not lose heart. On the contrary their determination to succeed received a fresh impetus by this defeat. The fight went on now fiercely, now mildly. In December, 1921 the government at Istambul, the Second Cabinet of Tewfiq Pasha which included beside Tewfiq such patriotic and tried ministers as Izzet and Sabir Pasha came to the rescue of the Angora Government by lending officers and supplying munitions. It was desired, even proposed by them that a joint deputation of the Angora and Constantinople Governments should ask the Allies, specially the British, to use pressure on Greece to evacuate Anatolia and thus end all this bloody warfare. Kemal Pasha who was at this time at Bileojit came post haste to Angora to confer with the two Constantinople ministers. He believed

in the good and honourable intentions of Izzet but he was not sure if the British would do what was desired of them. He felt that if he demobilised his forces and nothing serious came about as the result of negotiations, the spirit of his soldiers might cool down and it might become difficult to restart his campaign. However, he delivered his communique to the Constantinople deputies in which he told them that he was willing to terminate hostilities if material security about the successful result of negotiations with the Allies was given to him. He further requested Izzet Pasha and his companion to join the struggle personally and thus augment the strength of the people against the common enemy. Izzet Pasha declined, as was expected, stating that although he believed in the righteousness of Anatolia in the struggle, circumstanced as he was, he could not accept the invitation. In the meantime, fighting continued and the Greeks began to loose ground. For the first time, the Turkish army defeated the Greeks at Inn Ennu (January 8th, 1921). The news of Turkish victory created a stir in the camp of the Allies who never dreamt of such an event. They at once convened a Conference in London to which the delegates from the then Governments of Greece, Constantinople and Angora were invited. The Allies in this Conference offered to modify certain terms of the Sevres Treaty and to whittle down some military clauses in favour of

Turkey. Baker Sami, the diplomat, was prepared to yield but Kemal, the soldier, positively refused to accept such shadowy alterations and the Conference dispersed with the declaration of the Allies that they would henceforth remain neutral in the Greco-Turkish conflict.

The fight was resumed. The Turks were pushed steadily back. The enemy advanced to within a few miles of Angora. The National Assembly took the bold step of appointing Kemal as the sole dictator over both government and army. This was what he was waiting for. On April 5th, 1921 he took the personal command in the field. He fell from his horse and broke a rib. He was carried back to Angora but within 24 hours, inspite of his broken rib and of the advice of his doctor he returned to the front. Although he was unable to move, nay, even to stand or sit without excruciating pain in his rib, he desperately fought on. His cool head and military skill, splendid organisation and strategic genius helped him considerably. He took special precautions to defend his capital. It was now that the choice of Angora as the capital of Turkey was justified as the mountain chains in the North and the salt desert in the South made the place almost inaccessible to the foreign invaders. The battle at Sakhria lasted for 22 days and nights. In the words of Professor Lybyer "They (the Greeks) fought for glory and the big Idea (the ideal of the Greek empire) but the Turks

for their hearths and home." In the end the morale of the Greek force broke down and they began to retreat (September, 1921.) Mustafa Kemal chuckled "They are going and do not expect to come back." It was a complete victory for Kemal.

As the Greeks retreated, horrible revenge was taken on isolated and wounded Greek strugglers by the victorious Turks. Even women became parties to inhuman brutalities thus perpetrated. Some of these strugglers were actually lynched, a practice borrowed from civilised America. Latifi Hanem, who will have a later chapter devoted to herself alone, was appointed to enquire into these atrocities. In her report she expressed a feeling of revolt and disgust at the lynching of Greek soldiers by women. She was rebuked by Mustafa Kemal for possessing such a weak heart and for her inability to stand violence. Kemal obviously approved of this sort of vindictive punishment. Now he went to his Angora home for a respite to allow his rib to heal. The National Assembly honoured him with the title of *Elghazi* and appointed him a Field Marshall. In acknowledging the honour conferred on him he spoke the following words clearly defining the attitude of the Nationalists.

" As the President of the Parliament I say before you openly that we do not want war; we want peace. My own opinion is that there is not any obstacle to such an aim. If the Greek army supposes that it will make us give up our legitimate rights it is mistaken

It is altogether natural that we should be defending our country's existence by arms against attempts to wipe out our nationhood. There can indeed be no more reasonable or justifiable attitude than this. Gentlemen, I assure you that we will continue our offensive pressure on the Greek army till not a single enemy soldier is left in our country."

Again in March, 1922, a conference was called by the Allies, this time in Paris, for arriving at a satisfactory solution of the Greko-Turkish problem. Again it was a failure as the Angora delegation did not accept the modifications proposed. Events in the world were moving rapidly and after the Sakhria victory, the Turks began to be regarded as something not to be ignored. In October, 1921, France contracted a separate agreement with the Angora Government independently of the British and without even consulting them. This added to the prestige and strength of the Angora Government. Besides, the withdrawal of the French army from Celesia meant the strength of Mustafa Kemal's army by 80,000 troops. Then, the French command left to the Turks supplies and ammunition enough to equip an army of 40,000 soldiers. This was plainly a support, although an indirect one, of the Turks by the French. Italy had already withdrawn her forces from Adalia and the neighbourhood and had concluded a separate friendly agreement with the Kernalists. All this meant a disastrous blow to the Greeks. In March, 1922, an

offer of peace was made by the Allies, proposing, *inter alia*, "the peaceful evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek forces and restitution of Turkish Sovereignty over the whole of that region within a period of four months after the armistice. The offer was accepted by the Athens and Constantinople governments but the Kemal government insisted that the evacuation of Anatolia should begin immediately and be completed within four months after which an armistice would be agreed to. The Greeks did not accept the condition and the negotiations once again fell through. Another Greek campaign began in August, 1922, but they were routed and this time finally. Anatolia was now Turkish, Greeks having been expelled from it bag and baggage. Smyrna, an important town in the extreme west was still in possession of the Greeks. Kemal marched on it and captured four and a half divisions of the Greeks. When he received an offer from the Allies for the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks which offer was made in the usual haughty and patronising manner by Mr. Lloyd George, Kemal in anger exclaimed : " Whose city are they giving to whom? " Unmindful of the offer, his troops entered the city on 9th September, 1922 and the last Greeks in Turkey fled. Before leaving, however, the Greeks had left sufficient dynamite and munitions concealed under private and public buildings with the result that an explosion rendered the beautiful city in black ruins and the Turks had to rebuild it in course of

time. Mustafa Kemal now turned his attention to Eastern Thrace and demanded that it should be evacuated by the Greeks at once. The Greeks having resisted, Kemal advanced his forces in that territory. But the British blocked his passage at Chanaq on the ground that in accordance with previous agreements the territory was a neutral zone. Kemal insisted on moving forward. A collision between Kemalist and British forces became imminent. Help came to Kemal from another quarter. The French at this moment withdrew their army from Chanaq which made the British position considerably weaker. As a result, the British virtually surrendered to the demand of the Kemalists. It was agreed that the Greeks evacuate Eastern Thrace immediately. Thus the attempts, open and concealed, of the Allies to expel the Turks from the European territory came to an end. The Greeks by signing the Armistice agreement at Mudania on 14th October, 1922, gave up, once for all, their claims both on Smyrna and Eastern Thrace. Turkey regained possession of all that she had claimed in her original National Pact. Mr. Lloyd George having failed in his policy of destroying the Turkish nation, resigned. Fresh elections were held in England and a new Conservative Government was formed pledged to a policy of tranquility and peace.

The Mudania settlement was followed by a regular Peace Conference which was to be held at Lausanne.

Invitations were sent both to Angora and Constantinople Governments. The Angora Government insisted that the Sultan's Government having ceased to exist had no right to participate in the Conference. The Constantinople cabinet resigned on 4th November, 1922 and the Sultan left Turkey on the 17th idem. Thus the Angora Government became the sole government of Turkey, Constantinople having been declared as a provincial city.

The Conference at Lausainne opened on 20th November, 1922. Lord Curzon represented the British Government and Izmat Pasha led the Turkish delegation. On 4th February, 1923, the Conference abruptly came to an end without deciding any question. It was resumed on 23rd April when Lord Curzon was replaced by Sir Horace Rumbolt. On 24th July, the Treaty was concluded and signed. By it the new frontiers of Turkey were defined. Turkey definitely resigned all claims to Hejaz, Palestine, the trans-Jordan territory, Mesopotamia and Syria but she retained whole of Anatolia, Arundria, Cilisia, Adalia, Symrna, Constantinople, Gallipoli, Adrianople and eastern Thrace. She consented to the freedom of the Straits and their demilitarisation. But she escaped most of the onerous foreign control of her internal affairs which the treaty of Sevres had imposed on her. Turkey thus secured almost all the territories to which the National Pact laid claim and which Mustafa Kemal Pasha had endeavoured to defend

and recover. The question of the Mosul boundary only was left undecided. The redistribution of the Ottoman debt, the abolition of the Capitulations system and the Millet system, the protection of minorities and exchange of populations were some of the other important clauses of the Treaty.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEGINNINGS OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.

"We have gained a great battle, very great, very complete; nevertheless that is nothing if you do not come to help us, gain for us the battle of education and you will do more for your country than we have been able to do. It is you to whom I appeal." After advocating some other reforms such as emancipation of women, modification of antiquated customs, Kemal continued "and all that will be nothing if you refuse to enter resolutely into the modern life; if you repel the obligation which it imposes, you will be lepers, pariahs alone in your obstinacy, your customs of another age. Remain yourselves but learn to take from the west that which is indispensable to the life of a developed people. Let science and new ideas come in freely; if you do not, they will devour you."

The above are some stray sentences from an address Mustafa Kemal delivered at Brussa in the presence of a large gathering of men and women, just after the Smyrna coup. A huge Turkish flag was kept hoisted on the platform.

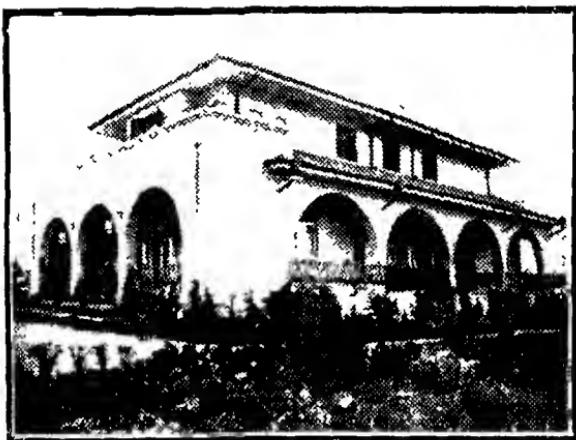
Having lifted his country from the degrading and degenerating depths of foreign domination and influences and the internal confusion that prevailed during the civil war, Mustafa Kemal Pasha addressed himself whole heartedly and earnestly to the much

more difficult and complicated task of rebuilding it in a form which may result in her growing prosperity and strength. The soldier's work ended with the Treaty of Lausanne, that of the statesman and reformer now began. There were formidable rocks ahead which made the task extremely difficult. In order to achieve success in his endeavours, it was very necessary for Kemal to consolidate his own position and that of his government in the eyes of the nation. The first important act of the great National Assembly was to adopt a new name. On 29th October, 1923, by a constitutional amendment, the Assembly called the government a Republic. The name was proposed by Mustafa Kemal himself and was accepted by the Assembly. It is really a curiosity that Mustafa who had declared publicly on numerous occasions previously that the republican form of government is a rotten and outworn institution and that it had ignominiously failed wherever it was tried, should have now sponsored it for Turkey. Perhaps considering discretion to be the better part of valour, he acted in obedience to the national will and submitted to it. He himself was elected the first President of the Republic. The same Assembly voted against according to the President the power of veto. But although the government was formally christened as a republic with a democratic constitution, Mustafa Kemal virtually acted as an autocrat and dictator and it is the

opinion of many competent observers that, circumstanced and situated as Turkey was at this stage of her history, she did need a dictator of the strength, will and conviction of Kemal Pasha in order to purge her of long standing social, religious, economic and political evils. He set out to work in right earnest. For sometime, his general popularity as the *El-Ghazi* of Turkey helped him in his endeavours. There was hardly any opposition to him and his equally popular lieutenant, Ismet Pasha who faithfully cooperated with him as the Prime Minister. But centralisation of power in one man, however popular, is bound to create resentment and here, too, opposition and criticism did arise both in and outside the parliament. An opposition press came into existence which openly challenged the wisdom of government actions. The government had to adopt strong measures. "Let the whole world know" declared Mustafa Kemal in a speech, "that for me there is no neutrality. I am a partisan of the Republic and I cannot imagine a single Turk thinking otherwise on this fundamental point which constitutes the *credo* of the Peoples' Party—*itself* a partisan of intellectual and social revolution." "Unity is strength and there can be no rival theories and no rival parties," he added. The government enacted a law which deprived members of the Assembly and army officers of the right of free speech. It constituted special tribunals to control and to punish, if need be, the hostile press of the

country. The tribunal at Constantinople arrested the editors of three leading newspapers of the city for their premature publication of the famous letter addressed to the Prime Minister by two prominent Indian Musalmans *viz.*, H. H. the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali in which the authors had counselled caution on the part of the Government in the action contemplated by it with regard to the abolition of Caliphate and submitting in respectful though emphatic language that the feelings of the Indian Moslem world should be taken into account. If the writers had been Turkish subjects, there is no doubt that they would have been punished along with other journalists. The opposition in the Assembly was also raising its head. It received a fresh impetus by this repressive policy of the government. It grew to such dimensions that the Kemal's party now known as the Republican Party was threatened with finding itself in actual minority. There was a crisis. The cabinet had to resign. Fateh Bey, the leader of the other party came into power as Prime Minister in 1924. But the new cabinet was destined to be short lived. The Kurdish Revolt broke out, the leaders of the Progressist Party, as the majority party was known, were suspected to be involved in it. Fateh Bey was accused of sympathising with the rebels. His cabinet fell, Ismet Pasha came into power and was given exceptional and extensive military and judicial powers. With the exception of this brief

interruption when Mustafa Kemal was the President and his opponents formed the Cabinet, he has enjoyed full dictatorial powers as President of the Assembly. Even to-day he is the recognised leader of Turkey having been elected President of the Assembly for the fourth time in succession on May 4th, 1931.



Kemal's country-house on his farm in Angora.

CHAPTER IX.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

It will be remembered that Kemal Pasha lost his father when he was a mere child, in other words, he never knew what his father was like except what his mother told him about him now and then. In India there is an old saying. "The mother and the motherland are more lovable than even paradise." The same feeling of reverence for his mother is noticeable in the Turk also. Kemal Pasha was a devoted son of his mother during his childhood. Although he left his mother at an early age to engage himself in the activities related in the foregoing chapters his affection for and devotion to her never abated. He knew how his mother brought him up and educated him in his childhood. We hear of her again as an old woman of seventy when she went to Angora to see her son. Mustafa, although the greatest man in Turkey, at this time, was to his mother the same boy of 1886. She blessed her son on his achievements, scolded him on his mistakes and Mustafa received both the scoldings and blessings with natural filial devotion.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha, although he loved his mother, lacked a heart for any other woman and it was good for him. In his school days while other boys wasted their time on girls or in theaters, Mustafa read the history of the French Revolution or

Rousseau's Social Contract. "You spend your time on women" he once declared to one of his military colleagues, "to me my horses are more interesting." If Mustafa had given himself to women at an age when people ordinarily marry, perhaps the history of Turkey would have been written in different words. And yet there were women who loved him, who worshipped him, who adored him. He could reciprocate later the attentions of only two of them, Fikrie Hanum and Latifi Hanum. But he was rather unfortunate in his love affairs.

In 1916, Mustafa Kemal was not keeping good health. Dr. Adnan who attended on him expressed the opinion that illness would be prolonged unless there was careful nursing. He advised Kemal to have a woman in his house who could act as a nurse. Fikrie Hanum, a young cousin of Kemal offered her services and arrived at his place. She was, in the words of Dr. Adnan himself, "a sensibly brought up and sensible girl, delicate in health but with a very pretty face". Madam Halide Edib, from the expression and colour of her eyes, suspected her to be an unknown sister of hers, although she could never be sure of this relationship.

In the course of time Fikrie Hanum developed a passionate and deep feeling of love for Mustafa Kemal. She received several good offers of marriage but declined to accept any. She tried in all possible

ways to attract the attentions of Mustafa Kemal, sometimes making great efforts to undertake things that were quite beyond her intelligence or capacity, but she had not the necessary shrewdness or art to make Kemal Pasha her own. Kemal liked her and sometimes admired her also but her consumptive health stood in the way of actual marriage and yet she always believed that one day he must marry her. She was advised to go to a sanatorium in Europe to get well. She went to Munich in the hope that on her recovery Kemal would marry her. In Munich when she learnt of Mustafa Kemal's marriage with Latifi she collapsed and in her delirious state used to narrate the entire story of her love with Kemal. When the people in Munich learned that she had no future, they deserted her. She left Munich and returned to Angora uncured. An official communique from Angora in 1923 announced that a woman Fikrie Hanum by name, a distant relation of Mustafa Kemal Pasha after trying in vain to gain admittance to Pasha had shot herself not far from his house.

Latifi Hanum was more successful in her game of love. She was the daughter of Monameron Chaki Bey, a merchant prince of Smyrna. She was a pupil of Halide Hanum and, like her teacher, believed that there was no future for her country so long as half the population, *viz.*, the world of women remained illiterate and social slaves. She herself had received

liberal education, had lived in Paris and Bearitz, could speak French, German and English fluently and was a fine scholar of the Turkish language. She was studying law when she returned from France to Smyrna at the time Kemal entered that city. Her love of Turkey, openly confessed, was resented by the Greeks who accused her of being a secret spy of Mustafa Kemal. They harassed her in numerous ways, such as putting guards around her house, allowing no visitors, shadowing her activities and finally threatening her arrest. She was advised to escape but she did not accept the advice and lived in her big house alone except for a few servants.

Mustafa attracted her also. She waited for his victorious entry into Smyrna with the passionate desire of a woman in love and determined to have him her guest on that occasion. Consequently when Mustafa rode into the city after wearisome travel and exhaustive battles she, a young oriental woman dressed in a Parisian gown, her veil worn round her hair not covering her face, was there to welcome him and offer her hospitality. At first, Kemal resented the offer as an effrontry but when she explained her reasons for inviting him he assented and found himself her guest. He liked her. In her company he felt elated. He talked to her on the first day of his hopes and plans for the future and as he found her an intelligent listener and a brilliant conversationalist, he was pleasantly surprised. Among Turkish women

he had come across very few who could talk and understand things in the way she did. He himself was dreaming to see one day all Turkish ladies educated, free and able to shoulder responsibilities of citizenship. She offered her services to him for acting as his secretary particularly for translating for him foreign conversations. For four days they worked together on foreign issues created by the victory and gradually their conversation drifted from politics to personalities and ultimately to themselves. He had fallen a victim to her charms. On the 5th day, Kemal made personal advances to her but she refused to be caught declaring that she could be his only when they had been properly married. Kemal was in no mood to marry at this time and so he abruptly left. He did not write to her or meet her for full four months. She concluded that all was over and prepared herself to go to Paris to resume her study of law. But suddenly Kemal returned to her place and said, " We wish to be married if it be at once " and they were married. Events which in the case of ordinary mortals are never even thought of, take curious versions, when they relate to great men. According to one account the couple went out the next day and stopped the first Imam they met and asked him to marry them. Poor Imam, at first he did not understand what he was required to do, but when Kemal convinced him of his personality the necessary words were spoken and Latifi replied in the affirmative

to the question " Do you accept as husband Mustafa Kemal Pasha in return for a gift from him of ten drams of silver and on condition of a nuptial indemnity agreed upon by you in the event of separation ?" Another version is as follows. The merchant, that is, Latifi's father who had by now returned to Smyrna, was celebrating the recapture of Smyrna and had invited a number of guests to participate in the festivities. All of a sudden Mustafa Kemal appeared on the scene and asked for his fiancee who was in the kitchen supervising the feast and persuaded her and her parents to make the celebration a wedding party and a Mufti (equivalent of an English Registrar) present on the occasion performed the ceremony.

There was a curious custom among Turks, *viz.*, that on wedding occasions, the groom had been represented by proxy, but in this case, the first of its kind in Turkey, both the contracting parties were present. The marriage established another precedent. During the first month Kemal and his wife in a banquet celebrated in their honour at Komich women were by invitation present and after evening prayers, Latifi Hanum adopted the practice of being with him on all state functions. Even when he reviewed troops she rode beside him. Marriage wrought many changes in Kemal's character. In introducing social reforms amongst the people his wife was a great help to him. But the happy married life was not destined to last long. After a year or so there were clashes between

the stern disciplined warrior and the brilliant and obstinate wife. Latifi went to see her parents. All the officialdom went to see her off with presents of flowers, but Kemal was conspicuous by his absence. It is fortunate that the parties had not to face the unpleasant experience a case of divorce is accompanied with in a court of law. He, as president, had the power to grant divorces and he granted one to himself. Latifi was then 22 years old. Attempts have been made to discuss the circumstances which led to this separation, but neither Kemal nor Latifi have come out with the necessary explanation. Guesses have been made, but it is difficult to vouchsafe correctness to any. In some quarters it is believed that the marriage was dissolved because it proved childless. No doubt, in eastern countries the desire to have children, particularly of the father's sex is great, but the very fact that Kemal has remained unmarried ever since and that all the children adopted by him are girls shows that this was not the reason. Another explanation invented by some is that Latifi mixed herself too much in politics. A conversation between her and a representative of Mussolini was, at the time, published in a French weekly. In that conversation she is reported to have asked the representative how feminism was progressing in his country and on his reply that feminism had made little progress in his country, that in Italy the chief function of a woman was still to make homes and to bear nice healthy

children she is reported to have exclaimed " Oh ! how behind the times all that is ".

On being relieved of marital responsibilities Latifi desired to go to Europe and America on lecture contracts, but Kemal fearing that in her public lectures she might openly criticise him refused to give her a passport. She was, however, allowed to travel privately in Europe and to live very quietly in Constantinople. Kemal made a settlement of 5,000 pounds on her. The marriage from which so much was hoped proved a failure.

The house in which Kemal lives is a simple structure built in the middle of a garden. His chief interest is in his stables possessing some of the best horse flesh, Arabian and English. He is indifferent to luxuries of life. Good books, fresh air and some music are all his requirements. He is a hard worker, but he is not very regular in his habits. As a rule he rises late. There are people who accuse him of debauchery, but there are no definite statements beyond the fact that he comes from his club very late at night. He has six war orphan girls as his adopted children who stroll in the garden unveiled like American flappers. One of these was recently married to one young officer and an enterprising photographer snapped him dancing with her on the occasion. He is fond of playing poker and engage himself in this pastime often till late hours of the night. During his meals he must have music and

like his meals, the music also consists of alternative Anatolian and European tunes. In order to emphasise the personal liberty of the Turks he goes in for dancing also now and then.

CHAPTER X.

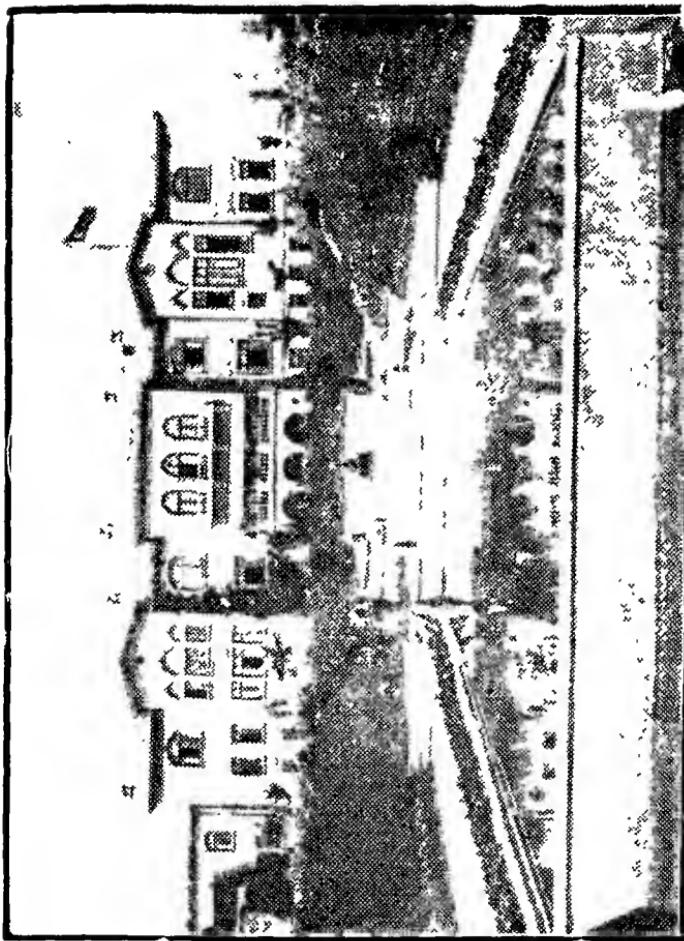
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS.

Article VI of the National Pact declared :—

"It is a fundamental condition of our life and continual existence that we, like every country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our developement in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration. For this reason we are opposed to restrictions, inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial and other matters."

These restrictions or capitulations as they are called acted like an octopus sucking the very lifeblood of the Ottoman Empire. They consisted of special privileges procured by foreign nationals or groups of nationals residing in the Ottoman Empire in judicial, economic, financial and even religious spheres and were a source of not only constant irritation and humiliation of the Turkish nation but gave rise to internecine jealousies and quarrels. In judicial matters, for instance, the foreign communities had their own courts, their own laws and their own judges to try their cases. The Turkish Government had no legal hold on them. Even in case of disputes between Turkish Nationals and members of these foreign communities, the decision lay with a tribunal

The Parliament House in Ankara



composed of a mixed personnel with the predominant voice given to the consular authority of the foreign nationality in question. The result was that the decisions of such courts went almost invariably in favour of the non-nationals and against the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Then, the foreigners were allowed to carry on commerce and trade in Turkey under conditions which made competition by Turkish people almost impossible, thus resulting in the monopoly of trade and commerce in the hands of foreigners and in course of time became a means of foreign exploitation by agents over whom the Turkish government had no legal control. Foreign residents, safe under the privileges, even resorted to extortion and other corrupt practices which were galling to Turkish self-respect. Again foreigners were exempt from payment of many taxes realised from the Turkish nationals. These capitulations in themselves were bad in all conscience but they became intolerable by the manner in which they were used or rather abused by the privileged population to the detriment of Turkish prosperity in trade and industry, and in finance and revenue. In September, 1914, the Ottoman Government had announced the abolition of these unequal and uneconomic capitulations but they were resumed by the Allies after the war again. In the Treaty of Severs, the Allies sought to legalise the system but Mustafa Kemal and his supporters insisted on complete and permanent abolition of the same.

What he had failed to achieve in 1920, he succeeded in winning in the Lausanne Treaty. The capitulary system was abolished root and branch and one of the most obnoxious obstacles was removed from the path of commercial and economic progress and prosperity.

Closely resembling this system was the system of *Millet Bashi* or the privileges enjoyed by large non-Islamic populations settled in the Ottoman Empire, in some cases, centuries before the Turks appeared on the scene. They were now Ottoman subjects, no doubt, but their organisation into separate autonomous communities according to their religion with certain rights and privileges granted to them by the government, were considered to be inconsistent with the new aspirations of the nationalist Turks. The system perpetuated separation of communities on religious basis which discouraged the growth of homogeneity. Sometimes, the Millets engaged in political understandings with outside Christian nations against Turkish interests. Among themselves, they were perpetually at loggerheads, sometimes resulting in blood feuds between supporters of differing Christian faiths. The Nationalist Turk who now desired unity and homogeneity to build up a new nation demanded the abolition of this system at the Lausanne conference. The Armenians and the Arab communities were not effected as they were now outside the boundaries of the reduced Turkey. The

population mainly concerned was Greek. At the Lausanne Conference in 1923, it was agreed between Turkey and Greece that they exchanged their nationals. The Christians in Turkey were removed to Greece and the Muslims in Greece were brought over to Turkey. This compulsory exchange of alien populations was an extraordinary agreement unique in the history of the world, but it was an epoch-making decision. "It meant", say the authors of "Turkey" in the Modern World Series "that hence forth the thorny problem of unassimilable Christian minorities in the Turkish state was to be solved. The non-Muslim nationalities would no longer be a disturbing factor in the Turkish question; religion and nationality, inseparably blended, had been the elements of friction and irritation in the long Ottoman period and this friction was to be removed. Oppressions, massacres, retaliation, had stained the annals of the last half century in a crescendo of barbarities; now, within Turkey at least, this was to be brought to an end, and it was to be hoped that internal peace would ensue. Recognising that the Turks and the Christians in their present temper could not expect to bury their hatred and live together amicably, Turkey and Greece asked for the most radical solution attempted in the handling of the Near Eastern problem. It was nothing short of a removal, not by violence and massacre but by mutual agreement and exchange, of all the Christians in Turkey and all the Muslims in

Greece. By a mutual exchange of populations, Greeks going to Greece from Turkey and Muslims from Greece to Asia Minor, the religious and racial homogeneity of either country was to be secured".

Whatever the hardships suffered by the populations effected this step led to nationalisation of Turkey in its literal sense on account of one religion, one language, one race in the place of a country where plots, intrigues, feuds, riots and bloodshed were the order of the day.

Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues in the new government had hoped that with the disappearance of the prestige of Europe from Turkey, the Sultan and his ministers in Constantinople who were by now nothing more than ornamental figure-heads, would cast their lot with the nationalist government in the latter's endeavours for the reconstruction of new Turkey. They had so far no intention of touching the Sultan and his dynasty. As a matter of fact the Turkish Nationalist Congress of Sivas on 9th September, 1919 had declared in so many words that the new movement in Anatolia had, as its aim, to safeguard the Sultanate. Its constant endeavours accordingly were to rescue the Sultan and his government from the coils of the foreigner and to restore the Ottoman throne to a position of responsibility, respectability and of loyal service to the peoples' cause. But they were disappointed in their hopes. Sultan Vahydu'd-Din Efendi still conspired with the



A View of Mustafa Kemal's Farm at Angora.

Allies, specially the British, against the nationalist government and was supported by his ministers in his actions. This was, indeed, intolerable. Warnings from Angora had no effect. The Sultan persisted in his unpatriotic policy. Mustafa Kemal's government had no alternative but to repudiate him. Consequently on November 1st, 1922, the Great National Assembly passed the following resolution unanimously :—

"Whereas the Turkish people, in the law of fundamental organisation has resolved that its rights of sovereignty and rulership are incorporated in and actually exercised by the judicial person of the Great Turkish National Assembly which is its true representative and this so completely that these rights cannot be abandoned, partitioned or transferred ;

And whereas the Turkish people has further resolved that it recognises no power or corporation which is not based on the will of the nation ;

It recognises no form of government besides the government of the Great Turkish National Assembly within the boundaries of the National Pact.

Accordingly the Turkish people, considers the form of Government in Constantinople which is based on the sovereignty of an individual, as being obsolete from the 16th March, 1920, onwards for ever.

The Caliphate belongs to the Dynasty of the House of Osman, the member of the Dynasty who is most eligible in respect of knowledge and character

is elected Caliph by the Great Turkish National Assembly. The Turkish State is the emplacement on which the Caliphate rests."

Mustafa Kemal Pasha wrote to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs :—

"The Government of Constantinople, its existence being no longer supported by any national force, has ceased to exist and no longer constitutes a vital organism. The true mass of the people of the nation have instituted an administrative government of the people defending the rights of the true mass of the people and the peasants and guaranteeing their welfare."

This decision of the Assembly meant clearly the wiping out of the Sultanate and the Constantinople Government by one stroke of pen. But the Sultan still did not learn wisdom. At this stage he ought to have abdicated. On the contrary he sought the assistance of his supporters in Europe to crush the Angora government. He was accused of high treason and he and his ministers were ordered to be tried for the offence. British Government made necessary arrangements for his flight from Turkey and on 17th November, 1922, the Sultan with his son and members of the Palace Staff slipped secretly through a back door of the Palace and sailed on board a British steamer unnoticed. On arrival in the British territory he was welcomed in the name of the British king. On learning the news, the Nationalist Government declared that

the Sultan had abdicated and thus lost all claim to Sultanate. Succession was not allowed and the Sultanate was abolished and steps were taken to organise a republican form of government with a president instead of a king at its head. On 1st November, 1922, Abdul Mejid Effendi, a cousin of the ex-Sultan was elected Caliph by the National Assembly, the first Caliph without any temporal powers. By the abolition of the age-long Sultanate, Kemal and his party not only fell in line with the modern tendency all over the world in having republican form of government but effected considerable economies in public expenditure. The king's civil list alone represented a large amount. On 29th October, 1923 Turkey was declared a republic with Mustafa Kemal chosen as the president thereof. There was opposition and criticism not only in Turkey but all over Europe both honest and selfish, but we are anticipating future developments.

CHAPTER XI.

SECULARISATION OF STATE.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is a true Musalman even to the extent of being superstitious. A clairvoyant once sent to him a green cloth of Arabic inscription which he always keeps hung up against the wall behind his table. But he is a Turk first and a Musalman afterwards. He believes, like many good people all over the world, that religion is one's personal concern only, that in social and political affairs, it should not be given more than its due importance. The new Turkish state which he now established over the ashes of the defunct Ottoman Empire could, he believed, exist in competition with western states if it freed itself from all obstacles which stood in its way of progress. Caliphate in Turkey involved the question of the entire Islamic world in it and so long as it existed the nation and the government were bound to be influenced by external forces. Besides, now that the Caliph, a scion of the royal family, enjoyed no temporal powers, Kemal suspected that, some day, some people might take into their heads to revive the institution on its ancient basis and thus throw Turkey into the civil war again which may check its onward progress. He, therefore, decided to liberate Turkey from such a religious complication altogether and thus to secularise the state. On 18th November, 1922, in accordance

with the terms of the resolution of 1st November, the National Assembly had elected Abdul Mejid Effendi as Caliph in succession to Sultan Vahyd'ud-Din Effendi which implied that till then the Assembly was for maintaining the institution of Caliphate. The resolution had declared that the Caliph was to exercise purely spiritual functions and that future Caliphs were to be elected by the Assembly from among suitable members of the House of Osman. But circumstances so conspired that even this decision could not last for more than 16 months, as, on 3rd March, 1924, Caliphate went the way of the Sultanate. Unlike the Sultanate, which concerned Turkey and Turkey alone, Caliphate was an affair of the whole world of Islam. Muhammad, the prophet and hence the first spiritual head of the Islamic world was not only the founder of the Islamic Church but enjoyed temporal powers in order to propagate his spiritual teachings and enforce his decrees. Islam being essentially a democratic religion, the office of the Caliph was in the beginning an elective one. But twenty years after the death of the founder it became hereditary. In the thirteenth century the Caliphate, till then located in Arabia, came to an end and the last Arab Caliph took refuge in Egypt where a Moslem dynasty was ruling. He and his descendants continued to reside in Egypt as Caliphs without enjoying any temporal powers. When Selim the Great, the great Ottoman Sultan and a great pan-Islamist

conquered Egypt he brought the Caliphate to Constantinople and himself became the 1st Caliph in Turkey. From here on the Ottoman Sultan had been the Caliph of the Moslem throughout the world. Sultan Abdul Hamid used his Caliph powers with great success and thus gave impetus to the growth of the pan-Islamic feelings. But the great European War of 1914—18 brought the brotherhood of Islam practically to an end in the Ottoman Empire itself as the Arabs and other Musalmans separated from each other. The Musalmans of Arabia fought against those of Turkey in 1915. The Muslim subjects of England and France fought against Turkey and the Russian, Musalmans did the same. In India which claims 70 million followers of the Islamic faith who owe allegiance to the Turkish Caliph and are, on that account, extremely sympathetic to political Turkey, there was great consternation when Turkey decided to join the war against Great Britain who was their ruler in India but when the time for peace negotiations came and the Allies, inspite of their tall talk about the integrity of Turkish lands, wanted to deprive her of her territories they started an agitation which the Allies could not ignore.

The following informing passage from *Book of Mustafa Kemal* published in Constantinople in 1926 describes the change of feeling in Turkey towards the Caliphate.

" We used to be taught that we belonged to the King, the shadow of God on earth. This implied that there could be nothing to oppose the power of the Caliph of Almighty God on earth ; that there could be no society higher than ours. Whereas the facts were telling us that in all parts of the country there was plenty of misery and hunger ; every year some section of the country was snatched away from us ; we had a state weaker than the very least of the European powers ; going down in bribery, confusion and immorality ; begging the west for everything. Yet we had a shadow of God on earth with forty wives and forty boy concubines, busy with making the nation swallow idle phantasy of paradise as taught through the *madressahs*. We were deteriorating from within. It was only by coming in contact with the European knowledge and accepting the superiority of European mentality and examining the miseries in the land of the Shadow of God on earth that we could understand the truth. We discovered that the shadow of God on earth was nothing else but an idol as powerless and as soulless as one of the Buddhist idols of India. As Mahammed broke the idols in Makka and Medina we also broke down these idols of Caliphs, Madressahs, tibbas, and tuebehs. This is the meaning of our revolution and its benefit will be great to the people."

No wonder, therefore, that when the institution of Caliphate was abolished by the Assembly itself in

1924, there was a storm in the orthodox Muslim world, India included. But Kemal and his colleagues in the Angora government knew no going back. His government appreciated the sympathetic concern displayed by Indian, Chinese and other Musalmans in Turkish affairs but told them in effect that they had no business to interfere in Turkish affairs.

It is very difficult to say whether the institution of Caliphate has disappeared for ever, all that can be said with any definiteness is that it has vanished from Turkey and so long as Mustafa Kemal or those who think like him have any influence in Turkish politics, the resurrection of it is extremely unlikely in that land. There was a time when the Turk, on change of his religion, was deprived of Turkish citizenship, now every Turk is free to profess whatever religion he may believe in. The Muslim feeling outside Turkey is still agitated on this question. But the chances are that the Muslim world of the 20th century will, in course of time, reconcile itself to the new regime. Although the abolition of the Caliphate will have disturbing effect on the unity, homogeneity and concord of Musalmans of the world but, as some Musalmans think, this loss of their community will be more than compensated by bridging the gulf between the Muslims and the non-Muslims whom the faithful call infidels. The rest of the world will perhaps no longer be regarded as *Dar'ul Harb*, and in place

of the internal Muslim unity there may result an international solidarity in the broadest sense.

This process of secularisation of state did not end with the abolition of the Caliphate. The law to abolish the office of the Commissariat of Sheriat and Aukaff was a continuation of the same policy. Although since the 16th Century man-made laws were being substituted for Qoranic laws in Turkey, the Sheikh-ul-Islam had still a very prominent hand whenever radical reforms had to be introduced in the state. This official was a member of the Cabinet and was the head of Sheriat Courts where all questions of marriage, divorce and inheritance among the Moslems were decided. The Angora government retained this functionary in the Cabinet in 1920 but in 1924 the office was abolished by law and a new office under the name of "The Presidency of Religious Affairs" was created which was to deal with all questions concerning dogma and faith and was placed directly under the Prime Minister.

On 3rd March, 1924, Muslim Religious Schools were abolished and the endowments attached to them were appropriated for more useful purposes. Later, the order of *Darwishes* and other similar orders were abolished. The tekkas and monasteries were appropriated for government purposes and converted into secular educational institutions.

By 1925, the process of secularisation was complete except on two points, viz., Islam was still the

state religion and the Presidency of Religious Affairs was attached to the office of the Prime Minister. Three years later, the constitution was amended by eliminating the clause which had declared Islam as the state religion. High officers in taking the oath of office now swear upon the honour instead of swearing before Allah.

Even the Muslim Friday has been discarded in favour of the Christian Sunday as the weekly day of rest, the calendar and the religious holidays have been revised and westernised and the old festivals are vanishing.

CHAPTER XII.

OTHER REFORMS.

Reforms, revolutionary reforms, were the watchwords of Kemal Pasha and his government. He would not let the grass grow under his feet. The new government now turned its attention to social, educational, economic, industrial and commercial regeneration of the country.

The position and status of women in Turkey was regarded not only as humiliating in the eyes of western nations but their seclusion within the confines of *pardah*, their illiteracy, their bondage to men were now interpreted, and rightly also, as a great handicap in the rapid progress of the nation. This reform was taken in hand at once and pushed forward with such rapidity and enthusiasm as surprised the whole world,

Polygamy, although permissible, based as it is on too important a text in Islamic law, is getting unpopular day by day because it is looked down upon with disfavour and has been made subject to such legal restrictions by the state that in practice it has all but gone out of use. Women, educated women at any rate, now refuse to submit themselves to marriage if it means subordination and subjection to their male partners. They demand equal rights of companionship with their husbands.

The veil has been lifted and the *charshaf* is getting unpopular ; women freely mix with men in the *atres*

and convent halls where special compartments and galleries for ladies are now generally empty. In trams and in trains there are no compartments reserved for ladies. Education among the girls is spreading like anything. The principle of co-education has been introduced, schools are full with girls and more schools are being opened every year. The University of Constantinople has turned out girl graduates in law, in medicine and in teaching. These, in turn, have inspired thousands of other members of their sex to take interest in their own progress. There has come into existence "the Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women" which, in addition to bringing about a general awakening among Turkish women is bringing considerable influence to bear upon the government at Angora to introduce social reforms. The Society is using, with the permission of the government, mosques to preach their programme of reforms to their less advanced sisters. There are a number of women who are working as nurses, shop assistants and in various other fields. Offices, factories and shops are full of women workers in the cities. They are taking keen interest in such humanitarian work as child welfare and hygiene. They are organising small societies to teach poor women embroidery, sewing, and weaving. The adoption of the Swiss Code as the Civil Law of Turkey has emancipated the women who are now as free as their sisters are in other countries of Europe. The

movement of feminine reform is, no doubt, a wholesale imitation of the west and is accompanied with concomitant evils like short frocks, the attendance at balls till early hours of the morning, the practice of flirting with members of the opposite sex, frequency of divorces and painting of faces and lips. It is hoped that the Turkish women will, in course of time, reject these external symbols of freedom and retain only what is conducive to the growth of the nation.

The most talked of innovation in Turkey is the Hat Law passed in 1925. Mr. J. A. Spender opens his book "The Changing East" with the following interesting observations.

"When the ship in which I came to Constantinople reached Brindisi she was awaited on the quayside by two lorries filled with small crates packed with men's hats. There were so many of them that when he had taken a certain number of them on board, our captain warned his lads impatiently and said he would take no more.

"The hats had been coming by every ship and every train for months past and the cry was always for more. For Kemal Pasha had decreed that no Turk in future, should wear a fez and those who disobeyed were liable to severe penalties. On the day I landed I read in a Turkish newspaper that fifteen recalcitrants had been arrested on the previous day and were awaiting trial for this offence. Leaders of

agitation against hats had even been sentenced to death. There is not a fez in Constantinople to-day but all other head dresses apparently are lawful and hats that have not been seen in Europe for 10 years are resurrected in Stambol and worn by Turkish fruit-sellers and porters".

This law has been subjected to much greater opposition in Turkey than any other, because it was believed that it results in mere imitation without effecting any substantial reform. But it also attracted the greatest attention in the western world. "At last the Turks are civilised, they wear hats" this was how this reform was received in the west and this is perhaps what Kemal Pasha desired.

Education is advancing by great strides. Hitherto the only education provided to Turkish boys was through the agency of religious schools attached to mosques which mostly catered religious education and of schools established by foreign communities such as Greeks and Armenians which were on western lines. As has been mentioned already, in 1924, Kemal's government abolished Moslem Madrassehs, set up a number of secular institutions with considerable financial assistance. Primary education was made compulsory. These schools teach languages and literature, history, geography, and arithmetic. There are secondary schools, training colleges for male and female teachers, technical schools to teach arts and crafts. The state supports a large number

of poor students during the period of their education, in many cases providing even board and lodging. In return it requires these students to serve the State for a number of years after finishing their education.

Higher national schools have been organised. Agricultural schools have been set up throughout the country; commercial and technical schools in the larger cities. The University at Constantinople has been expanded and has become the centre of a new intellectual life. There is a considerable number of schools and colleges in Turkey conducted by foreigners, chiefly missions. They are well endowed and well equipped and are appreciated and even patronised by the gentry. But the curriculum of these schools is closely supervised by the Turkish educational department. Examinations and instruction are subject to inspection. Turkish subjects are compulsory and a certain percentage in Turkish teaching is essential. The government tolerates these institutions so long as no definite religious teaching is carried on, no ideas contrary to the security of the Turkish National State are inculcated and no subversive doctrines are taught.

In general, the educational system in Turkey has been markedly improved by the new government and is having a powerful influence on the development of the country in the economic and social fields. In short, every attempt is being made to bring Turkey in line with the enlightened nations of western Europe

and America and preparing the way for genuine advance along western paths.

Since the movement for the expansion of education was started in 1921, the difficulty of teaching Arabic Alphabet to the adults was felt by the teachers but the reformers were unsuccessful in their attempts to replace it. Now that every thing western was taking the place of everything eastern and a strong man who had the courage of his convictions and who was in a position to carry out his intentions was at the helm of affairs, in 1923 by a decree, Latin alphabet was substituted for the Arabic characters and the people were given a very short period within which to carry out this change. For a time, the effect was disastrous. The number of people who could be called literate was reduced to an extremely low level. A large number of newspapers suspended publication because their proprietors and editors could not learn the characters with necessary efficiency during the time prescribed. Although this change in the Alphabet has resulted in the breaking of continuity of Turkish culture, it has brought about in ample degree the result desired by the reformers, viz., the unification of Turkey with the Western Europe. No doubt, there are men who still shake their heads at the usefulness of this "reform", but in course of time they will become reconciled to it.

Although all the changes mentioned above are useful in their own way, the criterion of a successful

administration is the economic prosperity of the nation. When the Kemalist government took over the reins in their hands, they had inherited a legacy which was, at its best, an extremely poor one. The treasury of the government was not only empty, but the country was burdened with an enormous public debt with a foreign control over part of its finances in the form of the International Ottoman Public Debt Commission. Ten years continuous wars had a dire effect not only on the population of the country, but on its agriculture and industries as well. Finally, the emigration of Greek Christians who were skilled workmen and expert traders had left the country poorer so far as trade and industries were concerned. The new government thus embarked on its schemes of economic progress not only with a clean slate, but with a debit balance against it. And a period of eight years is too small to enable any man to judge whether economically the country is better off to-day than it was, say, in 1923. But there is no doubt the Kemalist government have left no stone unturned to improve the agriculture and other industries of the country as best as they can with the material and the resources at their command. Take the case of agriculture. It was in as primitive a condition in 1922 as it is in India to-day. Deep ploughing by means of power and use of fertilisers were unknown. The new government is introducing many improvements in agriculture, freely borrowed from Europe

and America. It has established Agricultural schools in various parts of the country endowed with necessary funds ; these schools not only instruct the farmers in the modern ways of agriculture, but carry on research work as well.

Kemal Pasha himself has set a practical example in this matter. He has established a model farm of his own in Angora equipped with a collection of fine buildings, eighteen tractors, six British thrashing machines, two motor cars and four cameonetts and other machinery. This and other model farms have resulted in the fact that agricultural implements and machinery and tractors are to be seen at many places. The government are helping the farmers in many other ways, such as the establishment of agricultural banks, projection of loan schemes, and introduction of modern agricultural methods. In one district alone, more than 100 Fordson tractors were sold during the summer of 1924 against 25 in 1923 and three in 1922. The extension of cultivation has been proceeding rapidly in all parts of Turkey. Tobacco is an important agricultural product of Turkey. In 1924 the tobacco crop was more than double that of the previous year and showed a proportionate increase in 1925. The cotton crop has similarly increased considerably both in quantity and quality, It has since attracted the attention of even Lancashire. A Manchester firm has opened a ginnery in a cotton producing district. Similarly cultivation of rice,

wheat and barley is extending every year. Besides, the government has been helping the farmer in many other ways. The tithe realised by the government has been abolished, and it is spending no lack of funds in improving communications by road, by sea, by air and by railways to help him in his enterprise.

The chief difficulty which faces the peasants in Turkey, as it does in India, is their poverty. It is the capitalists and financiers in large towns who loan out money to them. The government, notwithstanding its depleted treasury, has done most to help agriculture not only by passing beneficent laws, but by giving financial support to the needy peasants by the gratuitous distribution of seed and agricultural machinery, by encouraging the formation of co-operative societies and by establishing an agricultural bank along the lines followed by so many agrarian countries of Europe to-day.

Railway Developments. The government at the outset realised that for the improvement of agriculture, trade and industry, the facility for means of transport was essential. Railway construction is being pursued in earnest by Kemal's government. Formerly almost all the railways were built and conducted by foreigners, British, French and German and thus most of the earnings went out of the country. But, since the establishment of the Republic, the building of railways has been carried on by Turkish engineers with native labour and is being financed more and more by Turkish treasury as far as possible. The

national government is reluctant to accept foreign financial aid or to accord to concession-holders such terms as they used to obtain before. This policy of railway construction has the second advantage of making the mobilisation of the army easier in case there is war.

But agriculture alone, however improved, cannot make the country prosper economically. There was need to develop the industries of the country. The example of great manufacturing nations of the west and of America was an eye-opener. And the new government was not slack in taking up this reform in earnest. What little industry and commerce was in Turkey it was so far either in the hands of foreigners, or the influence of foreigners was so great that the Turks gained hardly anything in prosperity. This state of affairs was to be ended and the new government was anxious to allow Turkey to stand on her own legs. The government had to overcome stupendous difficulties. The principal commercialists were gone, the capital had disappeared with them and so had skilled labour. Moreover, the government was in a hopeless state of bankruptcy at this moment. In encouraging the growth of their commerce and industries, the Turkish government decided once for all that they would adhere to the principle of what in India is called *Swadeshi*, cost what it may in the beginning. They had learnt by their sad experience that foreign investments, foreign experts

and foreign management were ultimately to result in commercial bondage in place of independence. It preached widely and successfully the benefits of self-dependence and self-help.

" The new Turkish Government resorted to the nationalization of a number of industries on a monopoly basis. Salt had long been a Government monopoly, but this had been one of the revenues ceded to the Ottoman Public Debt in 1881. More recently the Government has taken over as a state monopoly the tobacco industry (formerly ceded to the Public Debt and leased by them to the Regie Ottomane des Tabacs), the match industry, and the cigarette-paper industry ; and is heavily subsidizing the sugar industry of ' Ushaq with an eye to the establishment of a monopoly later on. During 1925, the Government also assumed the supervision of the manufacture and sale of alcohol and alcoholic beverages. By all these means a certain additional revenue is obtained for the national treasury without the disadvantage of foreign control. Other measures have been passed, giving economic relief to industry. A law providing remission of taxation upon material for the installation of factories and other industrial concerns was revised ; and, with a view to encouraging industry, factories have been exempted from *temettu* (professional tax) and from the real property tax. Part of the credit voted to the Ministry of Commerce is being allotted to the assisting of certain important

industries such as the sugar factory at 'Ushaq above-mentioned, five factories for canning vegetables, a paper factory, a porcelain factory, an olive-oil factory at Aivali (Kydhonies), a textile factory at Adana, and a jute factory at Qastamuni. Parallel with the institution of an Agricultural Bank is the recent creation in Constantinople, with branches distributed in all the important centres, of a Banque Turque pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, which will occupy itself with all kinds of banking business, but specially with the financing of industrial and commercial undertakings. Thus, with only a tiny amount of the budget (1·5 per cent. in 1925; 1·7 per cent. in 1926) devoted to commerce and industry the economic development along these lines is making as much headway as such limited funds allow. The intentions are good, but when over half the state revenue is devoted to the interest and amortization of the Public Debt and to the Ministry of War, the constructive and productive services have to be starved in proportion."*

As capital, labour and skill in Turkey even to-day are not commensurate with the needs of the country it is natural that the progress is slow. But as the new government is determined to make Turkey up-to-date even in the matter of her commerce and industries it is taking all possible steps to achieve the object in view.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KURDISH REVOLT.

Among a people so conservative and so illiterate as the Turks, the revolutionary and drastic changes such as the abolition of the Caliphate and of the Mosque seminaries, the lifting of the veil of women and giving them the same freedom as their western sisters enjoy, the introduction of "hat" in place of the traditional fez, the doing away with the Arabic Alphabet and the like, were bound to be resented in many quarters specially when the introduction of them was accompanied with severe penalties enforced with the autocracy of a Kemal Pasha. One such section was the Kurds which numbered over a million of hillsmen, an uncultured, illiterate and extremely primitive race and hence an inflammable material residing in the cities of Kurdistan, in Bitlis, Diyarbekr and Erzerum. Due to their prosecution in 1834 and a policy of continued repression later they had always feelings of hostility towards the Turks. In the draft of the Treaty of Sevres which was never ratified they were promised the grant of national autonomy and independence, but the Treaty of Lausanne was silent about it. Fanatics as they were, these people were easily aroused by the action of the new government in introducing social changes which were opposed to their ideas of religion. In February, 1925 led by a Dervish Sheikh of Kurdistan. Sheikh Said by name,

a man of wealth and of influence, the Kurds raised the banner of revolt against the Republic which spread to no less than thirteen *vilayets* of Eastern Turkey. The programme of these rebels was to revive the Sultanate and the Caliphate in the person of Selim Effendi, a son of Sultan Abdul Hamid and to re-establish all the old traditional customs and practices which were abolished by Kemal's government. Kemal himself was their target. At one time, this revolt took such a serious turn that the government had to mobilise all their military strength and to proclaim martial law in several *vilayets*. But eventually the rebels were subdued, the leaders were captured and punished and Sheikh Said was executed in the public square for high treason. This insurrection though finally subdued and crushed led the Republic to make itself stronger and more united. The Angora Cabinet was reconstructed and an Act providing that the use of religion as a means of exciting popular sentiment whether in speech or in print should be deemed high treason and as such should be subject to the most extreme penalties of the law. The teaching of religious doctrines which might subvert loyalty to the Republic was prohibited in the mosques. A similar revolt, but on a much smaller scale, took place once again in 1925 on the introduction of the hat law but it was again crushed.

CHAPTER XIV.

TURKEY TO-DAY.

Turkey is, to-day, a full fledged Republic with a Constitution as logical and as developed as that of any other European country or America. It is a paradox to say that the new Turkey is the result of the Turks' hatred of European civilisation. She is indeed indebted to the west itself for her present flourishing condition. Under the influence of the west she has wiped off, one after another, all her ancient institutions and customs and replaced them by others which the west can no longer ridicule or look down upon. To revert to Czar Nicholas I's characterisation of Turkey as 'the sickman of Europe' destined to expire at any moment, we have seen that instead of disappearing, Turkey to-day is living in the same sense in which Great Britain or France is living. Similar prophesies were made later on specially when the western Christians were driven out of Turkey. But she has survived that catastrophe also. To quote the authors of "Turkey" in the Modern World series once more :—

"This persistence of the sick man's theory indicates how powerfully the Western attitude towards Turkey is governed by *a priori* notions and how little it is based upon objective facts; for as it has turned out "the man recovered from the bite, the dog it was that died". At the time of writing,

seventy-three years after Czar Nicholas I pronounced his celebrated verdict, the Czardom has vanished not only from St. Petersburg but from the face of Russia, whereas the "Turkish sickman" has taken up his bed and walked from Constantinople to Angora where, to all appearances he is benifitting by the change of air."

To borrow another description from the same authors, Turkey can be compared to a snake which changes his skin now and then. No doubt the actual process of changing the skin is accompanied with considerable discomfort, even torpor, in the case of the reptile. At that time he is in a dangerous state and at the mercy of his enemies. Yet, if it can escape these enemies at that psychological time in its life, it not only becomes its old self again but gains fresh vigour perhaps unknown to it before. Turkey is now in its new skin and bids fare to outlive the superstition of the outer world about her weak health and constitution.

We have already described, however briefly, the state of Turkey as it was when Kemal Pasha was born and the changes brought about mainly through his influence during the last 50 years. We may give a brief analysis here.

The Sultanate has been substituted by a Republican form of Government. The Caliphate has been abolished and with it all other religious and ceremonial institutions, such as the Medressahs, Eukaf, Dervishes,

Tekkehs and Teubahs and special titles and costumes of various religious orders; missionary activities have been suppressed and Christian Millets abolished. In the matter of social reforms, Turkey has attained or is on a speedy way of attainment of the standards of the west. Polygamy has gone out of fashion. Women are no longer secluded within the four walls of the Zenana. The prejudice against the education of women has disappeared and new schools and colleges claim as many girls as boys. The system of co-education of boys and girls has been introduced. Women are now found in all the learned professions such as law, medicine and the like. Even in the matter of dress, there are ladies who wear European dress. Women no longer regard marriage as the provision of protectors to them. Marriage is now regarded as a partnership with equal rights to both the parties regarding separation. Agriculture and industries under the direct assistance of the government are taking long strides. In farming improvements have been freely borrowed from Europe and America. Agricultural, industrial and technical schools abound in the country. The government is devoting both attention and money to the improvement of railways, roads and canals to encourage farmers to raise large crops and to export their superfluous production. Construction of railways is being pursued in right earnest by the government. Under the new government commerce has improved

considerably. No tax is levied on the materials required for erection of factories and other industrial concerns. Factories have been exempted from Temettu (professional tax) and the real property tax. Banks such as the Agricultural Bank and the Banque Turque pour le Commerce et Industrie with branches all over the country have been opened to financially assist the agriculturalists and industrialists. The system of taxation has been devised in such a manner as is likely to give increased revenue to the state and the minimum of hardship to the taxpayers.

In a word, Turkey is a modern nation to-day able to hold her own against any state or country of the west or America and it is hoped and believed that if the present nationalism continues to inspire both the government and the people, the country of Kemal will not only show to the so-called civilised western world that, given the proper lead, even an eastern, an Asiatic country can meet even the strongest nation of the west on an equality, but it will inspire the whole East including Persia, China, Afghanistan and India to become, one day, as independent and as vilised as Turkey has been recognised to be by the whole world.

Although Kemal Pasha has been supported by his colleagues in the Cabinet in the bringing about of all these changes in Turkey, some out of fear, others to gain favour, and a few in their honest convictions, yet it has been admitted on all hands in Turkey and outside it, that a smaller man than Kemal would have

long succumbed to the opposition and hostilities displayed by the people. His tact, his perseverance, his boldness, his strength and his fearlessness, his selflessness, his insight, his personal character and yes, his stubbornness and obstinacy, his quality of leadership, his sincerity, his greatness have all led to his conspicuous success in putting his country out of mud and squalor and make it what it is to-day.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

(20 April, 1924)

SECTION I.

Fundamental Provision

ARTICLE 1.—The Turkish State is a Republic.

ARTICLE 2.—The religion of the Turkish State is Islam; the official language is Turkish; the seat of government is Angora.

ARTICLE 3.—Sovereignty belongs without restriction to the nation.

ARTICLE 4.—The Grand National Assembly of Turkey is the sole lawful representative of the nation, and exercises sovereignty in the name of the nation.

ARTICLE 5.—The legislative and executive powers are vested and centered in the Grand National Assembly which concentrates these two powers in itself.

ARTICLE 6.—The Grand National Assembly of Turkey exercises the legislative power directly.

ARTICLE 7.—The Assembly exercises the executive power through the intermediary of the President of the Republic, whom it elects, and through a Cabinet chosen by him. The Assembly controls the acts of the government and may at any time withdraw power from it.

ARTICLE 8.—The judicial power is exercised in the name of the Assembly by independent tribunals constituted in accordance with the law.

SECTION II

The Legislative Power

ARTICLE 9.—The Grand National Assembly is composed of members elected by the nation in conformity with the electoral law.

ARTICLE 10.—Every Turkish citizen over the age of eighteen possesses the right to vote at legislative elections.

ARTICLE 11.—Every citizen over the age of thirty is eligible to election to the Grand National Assembly.

ARTICLE 12.—The following are ineligible to be deputies: those in the service of a foreign power, persons condemned to penal servitude, persons acknowledging foreign nationality persons condemned for fraudulent bankruptcy, persons who have been deprived of their civil right, and citizens who cannot read and write the Turkish language.

ARTICLE 13.—Legislative elections take place every four years. Members whose terms have expired are eligible for re-election. The Assembly which has reached the end of its term continues to sit until the meeting of the new Assembly.

In case it is impossible to proceed to legislative elections, the session of the legislature may be prolonged one year.

Each deputy represents not only the constituency which has elected him, but the whole nation.

ARTICLE 14.—The Grand National Assembly shall meet every year on the first day of November, without the necessity of convocation. The Assembly may not be in recess more than six months a year; such recesses are considered necessary for the purpose of permitting the deputies to visit and inspect their constituencies, of re-uniting the elements of control [of the executive power], and of rest and recreation.

ARTICLE 15.—Initiation of legislation rests with the members of the Assembly and the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 16.—On the day of their admission to the Assembly, the deputies take the following oath :

"I swear before God that I will have no other aim but the happiness and safety of the fatherland and the absolutely unrestricted sovereignty of the nation and that I will never forsake republican principles."

ARTICLE 17.—The immunities of a member of the Grand National Assembly in the Chamber or elsewhere may not be challenged. A deputy who is accused of an infraction of the law, whether committed before or after his election to the Assembly, and whose interrogation or arrest is demanded by the responsible authorities, may be surrendered only by vote of the Assembly in case of flagrant crime. The execution of any judgment pronounced against a deputy before or

after his election shall be suspended until the expiration of his legislative term. The statute of limitations, however, shall not be considered to operate during this term.

ARTICLE 18 —The annual salaries of deputies shall be fixed by special law.

ARTICLE 19 —If the Assembly is in recess, the President of the Republic or the President of the Council may convocate the Assembly in special session.

Likewise, if one fifth of the number of deputies should demand the convocation of the Chamber in special session, the Chamber must re-convene.

ARTICLE 20 —The debates of the Grand National Assembly are held publicly and the reports of its debates are published without any modification of the text.

However, in conformity with its own rules of procedure, the Assembly may also meet in secret session. In such cases, it is for the Chamber to decide whether it is proper to publish the text of the discussion.

ARTICLE 21.—The debates of the Chamber are governed by its own rules of procedure, adopted in the same manner as ordinary legislation.

ARTICLE 22.—The Grand National Assembly includes among its powers the right of interpellation and of conducting investigations and parliamentary inquiries.

The method of transaction of such proceedings is governed by the regulations of the Assembly.

ARTICLE 23 —No person may hold simultaneously the office of deputy and any other public office.

ARTICLE 24.—The Grand National Assembly at the beginning of November in each year shall elect its president and three vice-presidents for the duration of one year.

ARTICLE 25 —When the Assembly by absolute majority votes to dissolve before the expiration of its term, the session of the new Assembly must begin the first of November following. A session held before that date is considered as an extraordinary session.

(iv)

ARTICLE 26.—The Grand National Assembly itself executes the holy law; makes, amends, interprets and abrogates laws; concludes conventions and treaties of peace with other states; declares war; examines and ratifies laws drafted by the Commission on the Budget; coins money; accepts or rejects all contracts or concessions involving financial responsibility; decrees partial or general amnesty; mitigates sentences and grants pardons; expedites judicial investigations and penalties; executes definitive sentences of capital punishment handed down by the courts.

ARTICLE 27.—Only by a vote of two-thirds of the deputies may the Assembly impeach one of its members for high treason or for other crimes committed in the course of his legislative term.

If a deputy is liable to one of the penalties mentioned in Article 12 and if he is condemned by a court, he loses his seat as deputy.

ARTICLE 28.—Every deputy loses his office if he resigns, if as a result of unavoidable circumstances he is unable to attend the sessions, or if for two months he absents himself from the sessions without valid excuse or without permission, or if he accepts public office.

ARTICLE 29.—A deputy shall be elected to replace one who has lost his seat for the reasons enumerated in the preceding Articles or who is deceased.

ARTICLE 30.—The Assembly assures discipline and regulates its administration by its own rules of procedure, which are enforced by the President of the Assembly.

SECTION III.

The Executive Power.

ARTICLE 31.—The President of the Republic is elected by the Assembly from among its members for a period equivalent to that of the parliamentary term. The president exercises his functions until the election of a new President of the Republic. He is eligible for re-election.

ARTICLE 32.—The President of the Republic is the head of the State; in this capacity he presides over the Assembly on ceremonial occasions and in case of necessity over the Council of Commissioners.

During his entire term of office the President of the Republic may not take part in the discussions or in the deliberations of the Assembly and may not vote.

ARTICLE 33.—If the President of the Republic, by reason of illness, or travel outside the country, or for any other cause, cannot perform his duties, or if as a result of his death, his resignation, or any other cause, the Presidency of the Republic is vacant, the President of the Assembly takes up his duties in the interim.

ARTICLE 34.—If, while the Assembly is in session the Presidency of the Republic becomes vacant, a new President is elected immediately.

If the Assembly is not in session, it must be convoked at once by its President to elect the new President of the Republic.

If the vacancy occurs at the end of the legislative term or if a new election has been ordered, the new Assembly shall elect the new President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 35.—The President of the Republic shall promulgate in ten days of its enactment any law voted by the Assembly.

The President of the Republic must return within ten days any law which he does not consider worthy of promulgation, together with a statement of his reasons, for consideration by the Assembly; amendments to the constitution and legislation concerning the Budget are not subject to the President's suspensive veto.

The President is obliged to promulgate any law which is enacted by majority vote of the Assembly after reconsideration.

ARTICLE 36.—In November of each year, the President of the Republic delivers, or causes to be read by the President of the Council, an address concerning the activities of the government during the past year and the recommendations of the government for the year to come.

ARTICLE 37.—The President of the Republic designates the diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Turkey in foreign countries and receives those from foreign states.

ARTICLE 38.—After his election and in presence of the Assembly, the President of the Republic shall take the following oath :

" As President of the Republic, I swear to dedicate myself exclusively to the respect, defence and execution of the laws of the Republic and of the principles of national sovereignty, to devote all my efforts loyally to assure the happiness of the Turkish nation, to contend with all my strength against every danger which may menace the Turkish state, to cherish and defend the glory and honour of Turkey, and in general to conduct myself so that I may never fail in the performance of the duties with which I am entrusted."

ARTICLE 39.—All decrees promulgated by the President of the Republic shall be signed by the President of the Council and by the Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the measure lies.

ARTICLE 40.—Supreme command of the army is vested in the Grand National Assembly, which is represented by the President of the Republic.

The command of the military forces in time of peace shall be entrusted, according to special law, to the Chief of Staff, and in time of war to the person designated by the President of the Republic, with the advice of the Cabinet and the approval of the Grand National Assembly.

ARTICLE 41.—The President of the Republic is responsible to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey only in case of high treason. The responsibility for all decrees promulgated by the President of the Republic, according to Article 39, devolves upon the head of the Cabinet and the responsible minister whose signatures are affixed to the decrees. In case charges other than high treason are preferred against the President of the Republic, Article 17 of the Constitution, concerning legislative immunittee, shall be applied.

ARTICLE 42.—The President of the Republic, on the recommendation of the Government, may annul or commute the sentences of persons on account of long-continued illness or of old age. Nevertheless, the President is not authorized to use this right in the case of members of the Council of Commissioners who may have been convicted by the Grand National Assembly.

ARTICLE 43.—The salary of the President of the Republic shall be fixed by special law.

ARTICLE 44.—The President of the Council [of Commissioners] is designated by the President of the Republic from among the deputies. The other commissioners [members of the Cabinet] are likewise chosen from among the deputies by the President of the Council, who, after obtaining the approval of the President of the Republic, presents the list of the members of the Council to the Grand National Assembly. The Government must within a week present its programme to the Assembly and request a vote of confidence. If the Assembly is not in session, this is postponed until the new session.

ARTICLE 45.—The commissioners, headed by their president, constitute the "Council of Executive Commissioners."

ARTICLE 46.—The members of the Council of Executive Commissioners are collectively responsible for the general policies of the government. Each member, individually, is likewise responsible within the scope of his authority for the general character of his policy and for the actions of his subordinates.

ARTICLE 47.—The functions and responsibilities of the commissioners shall be defined by special law.

ARTICLE 48.—The number of the commissioners shall be fixed by law.

ARTICLE 49.—In case of leave of absence or for any other valid reason necessitating the absence of a commissioner, another member of the Council may be named to replace him temporarily, but no commissioner may be charged with the duties of more than two departments at any one time.

ARTICLE 50.—A motion of the the Grand National Assembly summoning a commissioner before the High Court entails the commissioner's removal from office.

ARTICLE 51.—There shall be established a Council of State which shall be called upon to decide administrative controversies and to give its advice on contracts, concessions and proposed laws drafted and presented by the Government, and to perform specific duties which may be determined by law.

The Council of State shall be composed of persons chosen by the Grand National Assembly, from among those who have held important

posts, who possess great experience, who are specialists, or who are otherwise qualified.

ARTICLE 52.—With the advice of the Council of State, the Council of Commissioners shall promulgate regulations for the administration and execution of the law, provided that such regulations shall not contain new clauses. When the regulations are alleged to be contradictory to the law, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is empowered to adjudicate the matter.

SECTION IV.

The Judicial Power.

ARTICLE 53.—The organization, the jurisdiction, and the functions of the courts shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 54.—Judges are independent in the conduct of trials and in the rendering of their judgments. They shall be protected from any sort of intervention and are subject only to the law. Neither the legislative nor executive power may modify, alter, or delay execution of decisions of the courts.

ARTICLE 55.—Judges may be recalled only in conformity with the procedure determined by law.

ARTICLE 56.—The qualifications of magistrates, their rights and duties, as well as their salaries and the manner of their nomination and of their dismissal, shall be determined by special law.

ARTICLE 57.—Judges may not assume any public or private office outside of that entrusted to them by law.

ARTICLE 58.—Court trials are public. Nevertheless, a court may order a secret trial, in cases specified by the code of procedure.

ARTICLE 59.—Every person is free to use all the legal means which he deems necessary to the defence of his rights before the courts of justice.

ARTICLE 60.—No court may refuse to examine and pass judgment upon cases which are submitted to it and which fall within its jurisdiction. Cases which are outside its competency may be rejected only by a decision of the court itself.

(ix)

ARTICLE 61.—A High Court shall be constituted, the jurisdiction of which shall include the trial of members of the Cabinet, members of the Council of State, the Attorney-General, and members of the Court of Appeals in all questions pertaining to the performance of their duties.

ARTICLE 62.—The High Court shall be composed of twenty-one members, eleven of whom are chosen from among the members of the Court of Appeals and ten from among the members of the Council of State. The said members are elected by secret ballot by the plenary assemblies of each of these bodies. The members of the High Court elect by the same procedure a president and a vice-president.

ARTICLE 63.—Trials shall be conducted by fourteen members and the president of the High Court, which shall reach its decision by majority vote. The remaining six members shall be considered as alternates, to be chosen by ballot, three from the Court of Appeals and three from the Council of State. The president and vice-president may not be chosen as alternates.

ARTICLE 64.—The office of prosecutor-general of the High Court is filled by the Attorney-General of the Republic.

ARTICLE 65.—The decisions of the High Court are subject neither to appeal nor to annulment.

ARTICLE 66.—The High Court shall apply only the provisions of existing laws in the examination of cases which are pleaded before it and in the judgments which it pronounces.

ARTICLE 67.—The High Court is constituted when necessary by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

SECTION V.

Public Law of the Turks.

ARTICLE 68.—All citizens of Turkey are endowed at birth with liberty and full right to the enjoyment thereof. Liberty consists in the right to live and enjoy life without offence or injury to others. The only limitations on liberty—which is one of the natural rights of all—are those imposed in the interest of the rights and liberties of others. Such limitations on personal liberty shall be defined only in strict accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 69.—All Turks are equal before the law and are obliged to respect the law. All privileges of whatever description claimed by groups, classes, families and, individuals are abolished and forbidden.

ARTICLE 70.—Inviolability of person; freedom of conscience, of thought, of speech of press; freedom of travel and of contract; freedom of labour; freedom of private property, of assembly, of association; freedom of incorporation, are among the natural rights of Turks.

ARTICLE 71.—Tho life, the property, the honour, and the home of each and all are inviolable.

ARTICLE 72.—Personal liberty shall not be restricted or interfered with except as provided by law.

ARTICLE 73.—Torture, corporal punishment, confiscation and extortion are prohibited.

ARTICLE 74.—No one may be dispossessed of his property or deprived of the possession of his property except in the public interest. In such cases the actual value of the expropriated property must previously have been paid. No one shall be constrained to make any sort of sacrifice, other than such as may be imposed in extraordinary circumstances and in conformity with the law.

ARTICLE 75.—No one may be molested on account of his religion, his sect, his ritual, or his philosophic convictions. All religious observances shall be free on condition that they do not disturb the public peace, or shock public decency or exist in violation of social conventions or the law.

ARTICLE 76.—Except in specified cases and according to the form of procedure prescribed by law, the persons and the property of citizens shall be immune from search and molestation.

ARTICLE 77.—The press is free within the limits of the law and shall not be submitted to any censorship previous to publication.

ARTICLE 78.—The government shall not restrain the freedom of travel except during general mobilization or a state of siege, or following the declaration of an epidemic in the country.

ARTICLE 79.—Limitations upon freedom of contract, labour, property, assembly, association and incorporation shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 80.—Subject to the supervision and control of the State, education in all its forms is free on condition that it conforms to the law.

ARTICLE 81.—Letters, documents and packages transmitted through the mails may not be opened without an order from the Attorney General of the Republic and a decision of the competent court.

The secrecy of telephone and telegraphic communications likewise is inviolable.

ARTICLE 82.—Any Turk, acting on his own behalf or on behalf of others, may address petitions and make complaints either to the competent authority or to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey concerning acts and circumstances which he considers contradictory to the law. Complaints or petitions may be offered by separate individuals or by several persons at the same time. The reply to an individual complaint must be given in writing to the person concerned.

ARTICLE 83.—No one may be forced to appear before a court other than that to which he is subject by law.

ARTICLE 84.—Taxes are the contribution of the people toward the general expenses of the State. Any levy which does not contribute to the general expenses of the State, or any tax, tithe or contribution of any other nature imposed by individual or by corporations other than the government or in the name of the government, is illegal.

ARTICLE 85.—Taxes are levied in conformity with the law. Taxes and contributions received in conformity with usage, either by the State or by the local administration of the vilayets or municipalities, may continue to be collected until they have been regulated by law.

ARTICLE 86.—When the Council of Commissioners takes cognizance of the danger or imminence of war, or of internal sedition or conspiracy or intrigues directed against the nation or against the Republic, it may decree martial law, which shall not exceed the duration of one month, in all or part of the Turkish territory. This measure shall then be submitted to the Assembly for its approval a

soon as possible. The Assembly may prolong or diminish the duration of martial law. In case the Assembly be not in session it shall be convened immediately in special session. Martial law consists of the suspension or temporary restriction of the inviolability of the person, the home, freedom of the press, correspondence, association and incorporation. The zone placed under martial law, as well as the provisions to be applied and the procedure to be followed in this zone, shall be determined by special law. The suspension or restriction of personal liberty and personal inviolability in time of war likewise shall be regulated by law.

ARTICLE 87.—Primary education is obligatory for all Turks and shall be gratuitous in the government schools.

ARTICLE 88.—The name Turk, as a political term shall be understood to include all citizens of the Turkish Republic, without distinction of, or reference to, race or religion. Every child born in Turkey, or in a foreign land, of a Turkish father; any person whose father is a foreigner established in Turkey, who resides in Turkey, and who chooses upon attaining the age of twenty to become a Turkish subject; and any individual who acquires Turkish nationality by naturalization in conformity with the law, is a Turk. Turkish citizenship may be forfeited or lost in certain circumstances specified by law.

SECTION VI.

Miscellaneous Provisions.

ARTICLE 89.—Turkey is divided into vilayets, based upon geographic situation and economic relationship. The vilayets [provinces or administrative districts] are subdivided into kazas [counties], the kazas into nahiyes [townships], the nahiyes into kassabas and villages.

ARTICLE 90.—Each vilayet, together with its subdivisions, enjoys a separate entity.

ARTICLE 91.—The affairs of the vilayets are administered and governed by law, in accordance with the principles of local autonomy and the separation of functions.

Government Officials and Employees.

ARTICLE 92.—Any duly qualified citizen of Turkey, in full possession of his rights of citizenship, is eligible to appointment as an official or employee of the government.

ARTICLE 93.—The duties and privileges of government officials, including the procedure in their nomination and dismissal, shall be determined by special law.

ARTICLE 94.—In cases of violation of the law, the obedience of a subordinate to the orders of his superiors does not diminish the responsibility of the subordinate.

Finance.

ARTICLE 95.—The proposed Budget (budgetary balance law) shall be placed before the Assembly at the opening of the session, that is, not later than the first of November.

ARTICLE 96.—No expenditure of public funds may be made except as provided for in the Budget or authorized by special law.

ARTICLE 97.—The Budget shall be adopted for one year only.

ARTICLE 98.—The statement of final accounting shall give in detail the amounts of the receipts and expenditures during the fiscal year.

ARTICLE 99.—The statement of final accounting must be placed before the Assembly without fail not later than the first of November of the second year following the end of the fiscal year which the report covers.

ARTICLE 100.—A Special Court of Accounts shall be established to control the revenues and expenditures of the State on behalf of the National Assembly and in accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 101.—The Court of Accounts shall present a statement of audit and verification within six months after the Commissioner of Finance shall have submitted to the Assembly his statement of final accounting.

Amendments to the Constitution.

ARTICLE 102.—Amendments to or modifications of this Constitution may be made only upon the following conditions: The proposal to

amend must be signed by at least one-third of the total number of deputies. The proposed amendment must be thereafter discussed by the Assembly and adopted by vote of two-thirds of the total number of deputies.

No proposal to alter or amend Article 1 of this Constitution, specifying that the form of government is a Republic, shall be entertained.

ARTICLE 103.—None of the provisions of this Constitution may be arbitrarily modified on any pretext; neither may the enforcement of any provision be suspended.

No law shall be in contradiction to the Constitution.

ARTICLE 104. —The Constitutional Law of 1878 (1293) together with its amendments and the Organic Law of January 30, 1921 (1887), and the amendments thereto are hereby annulled.

ARTICLE 105.—The present Constitution shall be considered in force immediately upon publication.

Provisional Article.

The section of the law of December 19, 1923 regulating the status of military officials who have been elected or are eligible to election to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, shall remain temporarily in force.

Voted and published 20 April, 1924 (1840).
